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THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY IS TO DESCRIBE THE MAIN STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF COCHABAMBA QUECHUA. IT IS INTENDED TO SERVE AS A REFERENCE BOOK FOR LINGUISTS AND THOSE LEARNING THIS DIALECT. THE INTRODUCTION DISCUSSES THE STUDY'S PURPOSE, INFORMANTS, METHODS, TERMINOLOGY, AND NOTATION. THE AUTHORS THEN EXAMINE IN SEPARATE CHAPTERS PHONOLOGY, MORPHOPHONEMICS, CONSTRUCTIONS, PHRASE STRUCTURE, CLAUSES, AND SENTENCE FORMS. MANY EXAMPLES ARE GIVEN TO ILLUSTRATE THE COMPLEX GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM OF THIS DIALECT. ALTHOUGH THE TERMINOLOGY USED IS TECHNICAL, NONLINGUISTS WITH SOME EXPERIENCE IN QUECHUA CAN PROFIT FROM ITS COMPLETE AND SCIENTIFIC TREATMENT OF FORMS AND CATEGORIES OF MEANING. (JD)

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THE STRUCTURE OF COCHABAMBA QUECHUA

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Cornell University
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The Structure of Cochabamba Quechua

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Quechua Language Materials Project
These materials were prepared under Office of Education Contract No. SAE-9513; US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, authorized by PL 85-864, Title VI, Part A, Section 602.

Preface to the Student

This scientific description of the Cochabamba dialect of Quechua was prepared by the Quechua Language Materials Project of Cornell University under contract with the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education Contract No. SAE-9513, authorized by Public Law 85-864, Title VI, Part A, Section 602.

The student will find in these pages an interpretation of the living language: analysis is based on recently collected data, conclusions have been thoroughly checked with native speakers of the Cochabamba dialect. The principal investigators who collaborated on this project sincerely hope that this book will serve as a useful reference for all those who propose to work in the Cochabamba area of Bolivia.

Donald F. Solá
Yolanda Lastra

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.11 Purpose. The purpose of this study is to describe the main aspects of the structure of Cochabamba Quechua. The phonology is presented in the introduction. A text and vocabulary are also included.

1.12. Speakers. Quechua is spoken in the Andean highlands in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. It is estimated (Rosenblat) that there are about three million speakers in Peru, about a million in Ecuador, and about 752,000 in Bolivia. The dialect under consideration is spoken in the area around the city of Cochabamba, capital of the department of the same name, in Bolivia.

1.13 Bibliography. The bibliography on Quechua is very extensive (Rivet) but of little interest for a descriptive approach. The most useful modern studies have been Solá and Yokoyama. Urioste-Herrero is traditional in its approach, but fairly complete for morphology, and contains very accurate vocabulary lists. No structural analysis of Quechua syntax has been published, except for Solá's treatment of phrase structure.

1.14 Corpus. The corpus for this study was gathered in Cochabamba in the summer of 1961 and at Cornell University from February to April 1962 while preparing teaching materials for the Quechua Language Materials Program. It consists of a set of dialogues, about six hundred sentences, which are intended for use in teaching materials, four tales, two speeches, three rather lengthy conversations, one short reminiscence, a set of six reading selections, and a number of isolated utterances which were elicited in the course of the analysis. The dialogues were dictated by the informant and later recorded on tape by him. The tales, speeches, conversations, and reminiscence were recorded on tape and later translated with the help of an informant. The reading selections were written by Mr. Terán who became proficient in the use of the phonemic transcription.

1.15 Informants. The following persons, all of them bilinguals, acted as informants:

Oscar Terán, twenty-eight years old. Medical student, native of Cochabamba. He worked in Cochabamba throughout the summer and for three months at Cornell.

Roberto Carvajal. Thirty-seven years old, native of Cochabamba. He had travelled extensively in the surrounding area supervising agricultural work. He acted as an informant for about twenty-five hours recording a short passage and helping on the translation of a tale and a conversation.

Leovina Quiroga Vda. de Villarroel. About fifty years old. Native of Cochabamba. She had lived in Alvarrancho, some six miles to the south; in Sumumpaya, near the town of Quillacollo, and in Tierras Nuevas, about thirty-five miles from the city. She recorded a story, participated in two conversations with Antonio Figueroa, and worked as an informant on several occasions.

Antonio Figueroa. About thirty-five years old. Peasant, native of a village in the vicinity of Cochabamba. He took part in two rather lengthy conversations.

Rodolfo Cosío. About forty-five years old. Driver, native of Cochabamba. He recorded a conversation with Alejandro Loroño.

Alejandro Loroño. About fifty years old. Driver, native of Cochabamba. He recorded a conversation with Rodolfo Cosío.

Elvira Terrazas. Twelve years old. Native of Cochabamba. She recorded a story.

Elvira Mercado. Fourteen years old. Native of Cochabamba. She recorded a story.

Tomasa Vargas. Seventy-two years old. Native of Morochata, N.W. of Cochabamba. She recorded a story.

Miguel Veizaga. Middle aged. Peasant leader of Cliza, E. of Cochabamba.

Julián Chavez. About thirty-five years old. Peasant leader of Cliza. The two leaders were interviewed by Mr. Terán who, together with the author, obtained tapes of their speeches which were broadcast in a local radio program.

Florián Luque. Cornell University student. He has been very helpful in checking some of the materials.

1.16 Terminology. The terms employed, unless otherwise defined, can be assumed to have the meanings given to them by linguists generally. Whenever a term has a special meaning, it is explained when it is first introduced.

1.17 Notation. In the chapter on phonology material in brackets is allophonic; material between slant lines is phonemic. In the remaining part of the study the material underlined is phonemic, but stress marks are omitted unless the stress falls on a syllable other than the penultimate in words of more than one syllable; they are also omitted in monosyllables. Spaces mark word boundaries. In the section on morphology, when examples are longer than one word, morpheme boundaries are only marked in the one containing the morpheme under discussion.

CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY

The phonemic inventory of Cochabamba Quechua consists of five vowels, thirty-one consonants, a phoneme of stress, and another of juncture. Their distribution is best stated with reference to the syllable. Three terminal contours are recognized: falling, rising, and level.

2.1 Vowel Phonemes.

2.11 Inventory.

i u

e o

a

2.12 Vowel Allophones.

/i/	[ɪ]	lower-high front unrounded; somewhat higher and tenser when followed by /y/.
/e/	[e]	mid front unrounded; higher and tenser when followed by /y/.
/a/	[ɑ]	low central unrounded; fronted before /y/.
/o/	[o]	mid back rounded; higher and tenser before /y/.
/u/	[ʊ]	lower-high back rounded; fronted when followed by palatals.

2.2 Consonant Phonemes.

2.21 Inventory.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	post velar
voiceless stop					
simple	p	t	č	k	q
aspirated	p"	t"	č"	k"	q"
glottalized	p'	t'	č'	k'	q'
voiced stop	b	d		g	
voiceless spirant	f	s	š		h
nasals	m	n	ñ		
tap		r			
retroflex spirant		ř			
lateral		l	ľ		
glide			y	w	

2.22 Consonant Allophones. The preceding chart shows the positions and manners of articulation of the principle allophones. Conditioned or free variants are as follows:

/q/ stop [q] is in free variation with voiced post-velar spirant [ɣ̣].

/b/ stop [b] occurs after pause and after nasals; voiced bilabial spirant [β] occurs elsewhere.

/d/	stop [d] occurs after pause and after nasals; voiced interdental spirant [ ] occurs elsewhere.
/g/	stop [g] occurs after pause and after nasals; voiced dorso-velar spirant [ ] occurs elsewhere.
/š/	lamino-alveolar spirant[š] occurs before consonants and after front vowels; lamino-palatal spirant [š] occurs elsewhere.
/h/	post-velar spirant [h] occurs before pause; velar spirant [x] occurs elsewhere.
/n/	velar nasal [ ] occurs before consonants and in final position; alveolar nasal [n] occurs elsewhere.
/r/	apico-alveolar trill [R] occurs before consonants and in final position; tap [r] occurs elsewhere.

2.3 Stress and Juncture. The stress contrast of Cochabamba Quechua involves two significant levels, strong and weak. Weak stress has two allophones, the stronger of the two occurring on checked syllables. Strong stress is marked by the acute diacritic, or by space if no diacritic is written. In the latter case strong stress occurs on the penultimate syllable before space, and, in words of more than four syllables, on the first syllable after the space.

The phonetic characteristic of juncture is principally the unvoicing of the vowel of the preceding syllable. If the vowel is preceded by a voiced consonant, juncture cannot follow the vowel. Thus, juncture is not written, but may be considered potential, at any space which follows a syllable beginning with voiceless consonant plus vowel. Juncture also stands between the velar allophone of /n/ and a following vowel.

2.4 *The Phonological Word*. No highly reliable phonetic characteristic serves to mark the boundaries between wordlike units. Juncture is totally reliable where it occurs, but it occurs sporadically. Isolability is perhaps most useful as a criterion, but the native speaker is often uncertain, or speakers disagree as to isolability with regard to complex examples. It is best on the whole to employ grammatical criteria for the definition of a technically useful *morphological word*. Spaces used to separate Quechua words in examples are therefore grammatically determined, even though they may serve to mark also the position of stress and juncture. A hyphen is sometimes used in the transcription with the value of space. In some occurrences hyphen signals stress and potential juncture (

2.5 *Phoneme Distribution*. The syllalbe always contains as nucleus a vowel, which may be preceded or followed by consonantal margins. Syllables in indigenous words follow the pattern (C)V(C), but deviations occur in Spanish borrowings, where virtually the full range of Spanish syllable-initial and medial clusters are found. Intervocalic single consonants are regarded as syllable-initial. In indigenous words, any consonant phoneme may occur in syllable-initial position, with the exceptions that /š/ and /r/ do not occur after pause. Consonants which do not occur in syllable-final position include all stops except /p/ and /d/, and /ñ/, /ř/.

Clusters of two consonants which occur medially are shown on the table on the following page. Parenthesized clusters occur only in Spanish loans, and are syllable-initial. All others are disyllabic.

2.6 Terminal Contours. The falling contour is represented by period /./ or question mark /?/, the rising contour by question mark immediately following an accented syllable /´?/, and the level contour by comma /,/ or semicolon /;/. Where two representations are possible, the choice is determined by syntactic criteria.

Table One Medial Clusters of Two Consonants

	p	t	č	k	q	p"	t"	č"	k"	q"	p'	t'	č'	k'	b	d	g	f	s	h	m	n	r	l	Ĩ	w	y
p		pt																					(pr)				
t																							(tr)			(tw)	
b																							(br|bl)				(by)
d																					dm		(dr)				
g																							(gr|gl)			(gw)	
f																							(fr)				
s	sp	st		sk	sq	sp"			sk"			st'		sk'							sm	sn		sl			sy
š				šk	šq				šk"																	šw	
h	hp	ht	hč					hč"											hs		hm	hn	hr		hĨ	hw	hy
m	mp										mp'				mb												my
n		nt	nč	nk	nq		nt"	nč"	nk"			nt'	nč'	nk'		nd	ng	nf	ns	nh	nm	nn	nr			nw	ny
r	rp	rt		rk	rq				rk"	rq"				rk'	rb	rd	rg		rs	rh	rm	rn		rl			ry
l	lp	lt		lk	lq								lč'		lb	ld	lg	lf	ls		lm						ly
Ĩ	Ĩp		Ĩč	Ĩk							Ĩp'			Ĩk'							Ĩm						
w	wp	wt			wq														ws		wm		wr				
y		yt	yč	yk	yq									yk'					ys	yh	ym	yn	yr		yĨ	yw	

CHAPTER 3: MORPHOPHONEMICS

3.1 *Phonologically Conditioned Alternations*

/i/ and /u/ are lowered to /e/ and /o/ before /q/, /nq/, and /rq/: *wasipi* 'at home' : *wasipeqa* 'at home' (with topic marker); *nin* 'he says' : *nenqa* 'he will say', *nerqa* 'he said'; *ninku* 'they say' : *ninkoqa* 'they say' (with topic marker); *hamun* 'he comes' : *hamonqa* 'he will come', *hamorqa* 'he came'.

/i/ and /u/ are generally lowered to /e/ and /o/ before /h/: *řin* 'he goes' : *řeh* 'one who goes'; *tapun* 'he asks' : *tapoh* 'one who asks'.

/i/ is lowered to /e/ after /q/: *pisqo* 'bird', *-itu* (diminutive suffix) : *pisqetu* 'little bird'.

/n/ is replaced by /m/ before a bilabial stop: *saran* 'his corn' *sarampis* 'his corn also'.

/i/ and /u/ are replaced by /y/ and /w/ across word boundaries before or after a vowel: *wakičikapunku* 'they have something prepared', *ari* 'well' : *wakičikapunkwari* 'well, they have something prepared'; *i* 'and' *ačayraykutah* 'because of that' *yačayraykutah* 'and because of that'.

3.2 *Morphemically Conditioned Alternations*. Morphologically conditioned and non-automatic alternations of suffix form are described in the following chapters as the suffixes are introduced.

CHAPTER 4: MORPHOLOGY

4.1 The parts of speech are:

substantives: *wasi* 'house';

verbs: Ĩank'a- 'work';

particles: *mana* 'no'.

These are distinguished by inflection: substantive stems occur with -*ta*, accusative: *wasi-ta* 'house'; verb stems occur with -*y*, imperative: Ĩank'a-y 'Work thou!'; particles occur only with independent suffixes.

Intersecting this threefold classification is a classification of all stems into *contentives* and *functors*.

4.11 Substantives fall into the following subclasses:

nouns: *q"ari* 'man';

proper nouns: *pedro* 'Peter';

adjectives: A, preposed: *q'ɔmer* 'green';

B, postposed: *agrarya* 'agrarian';

intensifiers: *mančay* 'very';

personal pronouns: *noqa* 'I';

indefinite-interrogatives: *ima* 'what';

determiners: čay 'that';

hina: 'way'.

The first three are contentives except for the intensifiers; these, and the remaining four subclasses, are functors.

Nouns occur in all substantival functions: subject, direct object, predicate attribute, attribute, head of a phrase, and sentence.

Proper nouns differ from nouns in that they cannot be attributive to other nouns.

Adjectives, unlike nouns, occur as heads only when the attribute is a determiner or an intensifier.

Intensifiers are a few adjectives which may be attributive to other adjectives and which have an intensifying meaning.

The personal pronouns are *noqa* 'I', *qan* 'thou', and *pay* 'he, she'. *noqa* adds personal suffixes to form the plural: *noqa-n-čah* 'we' (excl.); noqa-y-ku 'we' (incl.). *qan* and *pay* add -*kuna*, substantive plural suffix.

The indefinite-interrogatives are: *ima* 'what', *may* 'where', *pi* 'who', *imayna* 'how', *mayqen* 'which', *mayk'ah* ~ *hayk'ah* 'when', and *mašk"a* 'how much'. In questions, indefinite-interrogatives add the independent suffix -*tah* instead of the suffix -*ču* which normally occurs with other substantives.

Determiners are the only substantives which can, in uninflected form, occur as attributes to a substantive phrase. Determiners include the stems *may*, *ima*, and *mayqen*, which are also indefinite-interrogatives. Other members of the class are the numerals, *kay* 'this', *čay* ~ *ačay* 'that', *haqay* 'that over there', *wah* 'other', *kikin* 'same', *tukuy* 'all', unos 'about'.

hina 'way' is privileged to occur as head to pronouns and proper nouns.

4.12 Verbs fall into three subclasses:

transitive: *řuwa-* 'make';

intransitive: *ři-* 'go';
connective: *ka-* 'be'.

The first two are contentives; the connective verb *ka-* is a functor.

Transitive verbs can take a direct object without the occurrence of the causative suffix *-či*. Intrn. take a dir. obj. only with *-či*.

There is class cleavage between nouns and adjectives of class B on one hand and transitive and intransitive verbs on the other.

4.13 Particles are of these types:

onomatopoetic particles: *p'ah* 'Bang!';
interjections: *ay* 'Oh!';
particles which occur as minor sentences: *arí* 'yes';
negators: *mana* 'no';
coordinators: *i* 'and';
subordinators: *porke* 'because';
prepositions: *en* 'in';
attributive particles: *antis* 'rather'.

The first two and some attributive particles are contentives; all other particles are functors.

4.2 *Grammatical categories*. The grammatical categories are: number, person, case, mode, tense, and finiteness. All affixes are suffixes. Substantives are inflected for number, person, and case. An uninflected substantive is singular; a suffix is added to indicate plurality. Inflection for person in a substantive refers to allocation. The persons are first, second, and third, and distinction of inclusiveness or exclusiveness is also made. There are eight suffixes which mark relation between a substantive and a verb or a substantive and another substantive in the same sentence. These constitute a case system.

Verbs are inflected for number, person, mode, and tense. Number is singular or plural. The persons refer to the actor and to the recipient of the action. There are twelve modal suffixes; their meaning is discussed below. There are four tenses: past definite, narrative, conditional, and future. The suffixes marking the first three occur with all persons. No distinction of futurity is made with the second person. When there is no suffix to indicate tense, the action of the verb may refer to the present or to the past, and in the case of the second person, it may also refer to the future.

Finite forms occur as centers of clauses. Semi-finite forms are imperatives. Non-finite forms have no indication of person or tense and occur as minor sentences or in some subordinate clauses.

4.3 Morphology.

4.31 Inflection.

4.311 Personal suffixes.

Set A

-*y*, first person, is realized as: -*ni*, following verb stems except when -*man*, allative, or -*ki*, second person, follows immediately, or when the verbal suffix -*hti* occurs; -*n* preceding the pluralizer -*čah* following both substantive and verb stems; -*y* elsewhere.

The combination -*n-čah* means 1st person plural inclusive; the combination -*y-ku* means 1st person plural exclusive. -*y* refers to first person object when its allomorphs -*n* or -*y* occur after -*wa*, personal suffix of set C; otherwise it signals first person actor when it occurs with verb stems, and first person allocation when it occurs with substantive stems.

-*ki*, second person, is realized as -*nki* following verb stems except when the suffix -*hti* occurs; -*yki* following substantive stems, and verb stems with the suffix -hti; -*ki* after -*y*, first person.

-*ki* refers to second person object when it follows -*y*, first person, and when it follows -*su*, personal suffix of set C; otherwise -*ki* signals second person actor when it occurs with verb stems and second person allocation when it occurs with substantive stems.

-*n*, third person, occurs in this shape with verbs where it refers to the actor, and with substantives where it refers to allocation. -*n* occurs twice in the same word in the forms meaning third person plural, future time, where it precedes and follows -qa, third person future: *l̄ank'a-n-qa-n-ku* 'they will work'.

Set B

-*čah* denotes plurality and inclusion of addressee. -*čah* has the shapes -*čis*, -*čeh*, and -*čah* in free variation. -*čah* is the most frequent. This suffix occurs after -*ki*, second person, -*wah*, second person conditional, -*y*, imperative, and after first person in the combination -*n-čah*, first person plural inclusive. -*čah* is also an irregular pluralizer of the substantives *sumah* 'good' and *hatu* 'big'.

-*ku* denotes plurality and exclusion of addressee. It occurs after -*n*, third person, and after -*y*, first person, in the combination -*y-ku*, first person plural exclusive.

Set C

-*wa*, first person, and -*su*, second person, refer to the object, but when followed by certain combinations of personal suffixes they indicate that what follows refers to the object. -*wa* has this indicating function when it is followed by -*n-čah*, 1st. p. pl. incl. and by -*y-ku*, 1st p. pl. excl. -*su* has this function when it is followed by -*ki*, second person, and by -*ki-čah*, second person plural.

Paradigms illustrating the occurrence of the personal suffixes of sets A and B.

Verb stem: *qo-*	'give'
qo-ni	'I give'
qo-nki	'thou givest'
qo-n	'he gives'
qo-n-čah	'we (incl.) give'
qo-y ku	'we (excl.) give'
qo-nki-čah	'ye give'
qo-n-ku	'they give'

qo-y-man	'I would give'
qo-nki-man	'thou wouldst give'
qo-n-man	'he would give'
qo-n-čah-man	'we (incl.) would give'
qo-y-ku-man	'we (excl.) would give'
qo-nki-čah-man	'ye would give'
qo-n-ku-man	'they would give'
qo-hti-y	'when I give'
qo-hti-yki	'when thou givest'
qo-hti-n	'when he gives'
qo-hti-n-čah	'when we (incl.) give'
qo-hti-y-ku	'when we (excl.) give'
qo-hti-yki-čah	'when ye give'
qo-hti-n-ku	'when they give'

Substantive stem: wasi 'house'

wasi-y	'my house'
wasi-yki	'thy house'
wasi-n	'his house'
wasi-n-čah	'our (incl.) house'
wasi-y-ku	'our (excl.) house'
wasi-yki-čah	'your house'
wasi-n-ku	'their house'

Examples of -y, first person allomorph, and -ki, second person allomorph, are:

qo-y-ki	'I give thee'
qo-y-ki-čah	'I give you'

Examples of the pluralizer -čah after -wah, second person conditional, and -y, imperative, are: Iank'a-wah-čah 'ye would work' and Iank'a-y-čah 'Work ye!'

Paradigms illustrating the occurrence of personal suffixes of set C.

In the following examples -wa refers to the object:

qo-wa-nki	'thou givest me'
qo-wa-n	'he gives me'
qo-wa-nki-čah	'ye give me'
qo-wa-n-ku	'they give me'
qo-na-wa-yki	'thy giving me'
qo-na-wa-n	'his giving me'
qo-na-wa-yki-čah	'your giving me'
qo-na-wa-n-ku-	'their giving me'

In the following examples -wa indicates that the personal suffixes that follow refer to the object:

qo-wa-n-čah	'we (incl.) are given'
qo-wa-y-ku	'we (excl.) are given'

qo-na-wa-n-čah	'our (incl.) being given'
qo-na-way-ku	'our (excl.) being given'

In the following examples -su refers to the object:

qo-su-n	'he gives thee'
qo-su-n-ku	'they give thee'

qo-na-su-n	'his giving thee'
qo-na-su-n-ku	'their giving thee'

In the following examples -*su* indicates that the personal suffixes that follow it refer to the object:

qo-su-nki	'thou art given'
qo-su-nki-čah	'ye are given'
qo-na-su-yki	'thy being given'
qo-na-su-yki-čah	'your being given'

Distribution of personal suffixes in substantive patterns. Personal suffixes of set A occur in position +4 after substantive (see table two) stems. They may be followed by personal suffixes of set B and by relational and independent suffixes. Personal suffixes of set C occur only after substantives derived by -*na*. Examples have already been given.

Distribution of personal suffixes in verb patterns. Personal suffixes of sets A and B occur after final suffixes. They can be followed by independent suffixes. Personal suffixes of set C follow the modal suffixes as in the form *Iank'a-či-wa-n* 'he makes me work', where -*či*, causative modal suffix, occurs. -*wa* and -*su* occur immediately followed by personal suffixes of sets A and B, by the suffix -*ču*, and by final suffixes except -*wah*, second person conditional. Examples with the suffix -*ču* following -*wa* and -*su* are: *apa-mu-wa-ču-n* 'let him bring me' and *paga-pu-su-ču-n* 'may he repay you'. Examples with the final suffixes are: *qo-so-rqa* 'he gave thee', *qo-su-sqa* 'that he had given thee'; *paga-so-n-qa* 'he will pay thee'; *qo-wa-spa* 'giving me'; qo-wa-y 'give thou me'.

4.312 *Inflection of substantives*. Substantive stems are free forms. The suffixes that occur with them appear in Table Two except -*ti*.

4.3121 -*kuna*, plural suffix, has the following allomorphs: -*s*, -*es*, -*skuna*, -*kunas*, -*kuna*. Some Spanish loans with final consonants take the shape -*es*; -*s* and -*skuna* occur only with vowel-final stems; -*kunas* occurs with consonant-final stems; -*kuna* is privileged to occur wherever any of the other allomorphs occur: *profesor-es* ~ *profesor-kuna* 'teachers'; *řuna-s* ~ *řuna-kuna* 'men'; *awto-skuna* ~ *awto-kuna* 'cars'; *supay-kunas* ~ *supay-kuna* 'devils'. -*kuna* normallly occurs immediately following the substantive stem. But when a consonant-final stem occurs with a personal suffix, the allomorph -*kuna* may follow the personal suffix: *bol-ita-s-ni-yki* 'thy marbles'; *yan-kuna-yki* 'thy roads'; *yan-kunas-ni-yki* 'thy roads'; *yan-ni-yki-kuna* 'thy roads'. The last form is the only instance of an allomorph of -*kuna* occurring in a position other than +1.

4.3122 -*ni* must occur after consonant-final substantive stems and after the allomorphs -*s* and --*kunas* of the plural suffix -*kuna* when a personal suffix or the derivative suffix -*yoh* is to be added. -*l̄a* may occur between -*ni* and the personal suffix or -*yoh*: *profesor-ni-yki* 'thy teacher'; *řuna-s-ni-n* 'his men'; *kiru-s-ni-l̄a-yoh* 'person just with teeth'; *muna-y-ni-l̄a-n-ku-manta* 'of their own free will'. When -*ni* occurs with the third person singular suffix the meaning of the combination -*ni-n* may be that of 'definiteness': *sumah-ni-n* 'that which is good'. -*ni* occurs optionally after substantive stems which end in a vowel when -*ti* 'including' follows: *řuna-n-ti-m-pah* ~ *řuna-ni-n-ti-m-pah* 'for all the men'. -*ni* occurs before -*h*, genitive allomorph; the meaning of the combination -*ne-h* is indefinite location: *ka-y-ne-h-ču* 'Around here?'

4.3123 -*ti* always occurs preceded and followed by a personal suffix. It very frequently occurs preceded and followed by 3rd p.: the combination -*n-ti-n* means 'together with, including'; *warmi-ni-n-ti-n* 'including the woman'; *kinsa-n-ti-l̄a-n-wan-ña* 'with all three of them'; *tukuy-ni-n-ti-n* 'including all'. There are three examples in the corpus of the occurrence of -*ti* between other personal suffixes: *kinsa-n-ti-n-čah* 'all three of us'; *ka-sqa-n-ti-n-čah* 'including our being'; *sača-y-ti-n* 'my tree also'.

4.3124 *Relational suffixes*. A substantive suffix which marks a relation of that substantive to a verb or to another substantive in the same sentence is a relational suffix. The relative position of these suffixes is after the personal suffixes. The relationals -*manta*, -*pah*, -*rayku*, and -*hpa* exclude each other. -*hpa* may be followed by -*man*, -*pi*, and -*ta*; -*ta* may be followed by -*wan*. A list of the occurring combinations is given below:

Table Two

Suffixes occurring with substantives[1]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Plural			Personal Suffixes		Relationals[2]	Independent Suffx.[3]
			Set A	Set B Pluralizers		
-*kuna*[4]	-*ni*	-*la*	-*y* -*ki* -*n*	-*čah* -*ku*	-*hpa* -*man* -*manta* -*pah* -*pi* -*ta* -*rayku*[5] -*wan*	

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1. See 4.3123 for the position of -*ti*
2. Not all relationals are mutually exclusive (4.3124).
3. See Table Four.
4. See 4.3121 for an occurrence of /-*kuna* in a different position.
5. -*la* follows -*rayku*.

(1) -*manta*
(2) -*pah*
(3) -*rayku*
(4) -*hpa*
(5) -*man*
(6) -*pi*
(7) -*ta*
(8) -*wan*
(9) -*hpa-man*
(10) -*hpa-pi*
(11) -*hpa-ta*
(12) -*ta-wan*
(13) -*hpa-ta-wan*

-*hpa*, genitive, has the following allomorphs: -*pa*, -*h*, -*hpa*. -*pa* occurs after consonants; -*h* occurs after -*ni* (4.3122) and in free variation with -*hpa*; -*hpa* occurs elsewhere: *pay* 'he' : *pay-pa* 'his'; *warmi* 'woman' : *warme-h* ~ *warme-hpa* 'the woman's. -*hpa* indicates that the substantive is a possesor. The substantive is usually in construction with another substantive: *warme-hpa* *kamisa-n* 'the woman's shirt'. In the combination -*ne-h*, it sets an indefinite limit to the place where the action of the verb is performed: *čay-ne-h-ta* 'around there'. The forms that follow illustrate the secondary inflection of genitives: *warmi-sita-hpa-man* 'to the little woman's'; *warmi-sita-hpa-pi* 'at the little women's'; *warmi-sita-hpa-ta* 'the little woman's' (acc.); *warmi-sita-hpa-ta-wan-čus* 'probably with the little woman's also'.

-*man*, allative, indicates 'direction toward' or that the substantive is the recipient of an action; it is usually translated 'to': *čahra-y* 'my field' : *čahra-y-man* 'to my field'; *wañu-sqa-s-ni-n-ku* 'their dead' : wañu-sqa-s-ni-n-ku-man 'to their dead'. -*man* is the only relational that occurs in verb patterns. It occurs following all personal suffixes of sets A and B and the forms where it occurs are generally translated 'could' or 'would': *pita-n-man* 'he would smoke'; *řuwa -nki-man* 'thou wouldst make'; *řuwa-nki-čah-man* 'ye would make'.

-*manta*, ablative, has two allomorphs: -*mán* and -*manta*. -*mán* was found in one example in the corpus: *Ĩarq"e-y-mán* 'of hunger'. -*manta* is usually translated 'from, since, about, of'. It denotes a starting point of an action: *pata* 'above' : *pata-manta* 'from above'; *č'isi* 'night' : *č'isi-manta* 'since last night'.

-*pah*, purposive, is translated 'in order to, for, so that'. It indicates purpose or that the substantive to which it is added benefits from the action: *mik"u-na* 'food, eating' : *mik"u-na-pah* 'in order to eat'; *yaku-n-čah* 'our (incl.) water' : *yaku-n-čah-pah* 'for our (incl.) water'; qan 'thou' : qam-pah 'for thee'.

-*pi*, locative, usually translated 'in, on, at', signals the location of an event in time or space: *wasi* 'house' : *wasi-pi* 'in the house'; *karu* 'far' : *karu-pi* 'in a far away place'; *usqay* 'quick' : *usqay-pi* 'soon'. -*pi* also occurs in adverbial expressions such as *anča-pi* 'expensively', *baratu-pi* cheaply', *sumah-pi* 'well'.

-*ta*, accusative, has two allomorphs: *´*, stress, on the last syllable of a substantive, and -*ta*. *´* occurs in free variation with -*ta* when the substantive to which it is suffixed is not sentence final; -*ta* occurs elsewhere: *mik"ú-ý(-tà) apačimuway* ~ *apačimuway mik"u-y-ta* 'send me food'. The accusative suffix signals that the substantive is the direct object of a verb. It may also indicate other relations: *lawa-ta munani* 'I want mush'; *usqay-ta řisah* 'I'll go quickly'. -*ta* occurs followed by -*wan*, instrumental, in substantives derived by -*y* (4.32122). The combination -*y-ta-wan* is translated 'as soon as': *tari-* 'find' : *tari-y-ta-wan* 'as soon as he found' lit.,'with the finding'.

-*rayku*, causal, signals the cause of an action. It is usually translated 'on account of'. The suffix -*l̄a* follows -*rayku*: *čay* 'that' : *čay-rayku* 'on account of that'; *wasi-y* 'my house' : *wasi-y-rayku-l̄a* 'only on account of my house'.

-*wan*, instrumental, indicates the means by which an action takes place. It is translated 'with, plus, also': *kučil̄u* 'knife' : *kučil̄u-wan* 'with a knife'. -*wan* often serves to mark additive constructions (5.41).

4.313 *Inflection of verbs*. Verbal suffixes fall into two main classes: *Non-final suffixes*, which never occupy the last position in the word, and *final suffixes* which may be word final. *Non-final* suffixes are divided into two classes: those which precede the personal suffixes -*wa* and -*su*, and those which follow them. Suffixes preceding -*wa* and -*su* will be called *modal suffixes*. The non-final suffixes which follow -*wa* and -*su* are -*ču* and and -*hti*. The relative order of verbal suffixes is given in Table Three.

4.3131 Non-final suffixes.

4.31311 *Modal suffixes*. -*ykača*, frequentive, indicates that an action is performed repeatedly: *oq"ari-spa* 'lifting' : *oq"ari-ykača-spa* 'lifting several times'; *puri-ni* 'I walk' : *puri-ykača-ni* 'I stroll'.

-*yku* has two allomorphs: -*yka* before -*ka*, -*pu*, and -*mu*; -*yku* elsewhere: *interesa-yka-ka-pu-y-man* 'I'd be most interested in it!'; *apa-yka-mu-y* 'Do bring it!'; *pampa-yka-pu-sqa-n-ku* 'They are burying her'; *Koře-yku-y* 'Do run in it!' -*yku* intensifies the meaning of the verb and makes it refer to something specific: *interesa-ka-pu-y-man* 'I would be interested' : *interesa-yka-ka-pu-y-man* 'I would be interested in it!'

-*rpa* indicates that an action is performed suddenly, quickly, or roughly: *puñu-či-wa-n-čis* 'he makes us (incl.) sleep' : *puñu-rpa-či-wa-n-čis* 'he suddenly makes us (incl.) sleep'; *koře-yku-ri-y* 'run in it please' : *koře-yku-rpa-ri-y* 'run in it quickly please'; *qo-y* 'give' : *qo-rpa-y* 'give' meaning 'give blows'.

-*rqo*, honorific, has two allomorphs: -*rqa* directly before -*mu*, -*pu*, and -*ka*; -rqo elsewhere: *apa-rqa-mu-y* 'bring it if it pleases thee': *waño-rqa-po-h-kuna* 'those who die'; *ƚohse-rqa-ka-mu-sqa* 'he had come out'; *tuko-rqo-n-man* 'he would finish'. -*rqo* indicates respect, politeness, or affection. It is commonly used in the presence of a guest and in situations where people cooperate with one another: *kořey* *čay* *wáƚpata*

Verbal Suffixes

Modal Suffixes											
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
-ykača	-yku -rqo	-rpa	-ra	-ri	-či	-na	-ku	-mu	-pu	-ša	Final Suffixe -rqa -sqa -qa -sah -spa -wah -y
											-ču -hti

Table Three

hap'e-rqa-mu-y 'quick, go get that hen', was used in a situation where the speaker intended to cook the hen for a guest; the expression *wake-rqo-či-pu-sqa-y-ki* 'I'll prepare it for thee' is very polite; *čayta apa-rqa-mu-y mamay* 'Bring it please ma'am' occurs in a situation where many people are engaged in collective harvesting; requests with -*rqa* are appropriate for such occasions.

-*ra*, distributive, indicates that an action is performed as a series. It is usually translated 'one by one': *apa-y* 'carry thou!' : *apa-ra-y* 'carry them one by one'; *ni-spa* 'saying' : *ni-ra-spa* 'telling each one'.

-*ri*, inceptive, indicates that an action is beginning. It is commonly used to add politeness: *inkyeta-ku-y* 'to be restless' : *inkyeta-ri-ku-y* 'to begin to be restless'; *qo-wa-y* 'give me' *qo-ri-wa-y* 'please give me'. -*ri* may occur twice in the same word usually in a request which becomes insistent: *mik"u-y* 'eat' : *mik"u'ri-y* 'please eat' : *mik"u-ri-ri-y* 'Please, please eat!' -*ri* may precede or follow -*rqo*, honorific: *yuya-re-rqo-l̄a-nki* 'thou wilt be beginning to remember'; *al̄a-rqo-ri-y* 'begin digging please'. -*ri* may follow -*na*, reciprocal: *akompaña-na-ri-ku-na* 'let's accompany each other'; otherwise its position is after -*ra*, distributive.

-*či*, causative, indicates that the actor causes something to be done: *wañu-* 'die' : *wañu-či-* 'kill'. -*či* may occur twice in the same word meaning to cause someone to cause something to happen: *nasi-či-nki-ña-ču* 'Hast thou given birth?' lit., 'Hast thou caused it to be born?' : *nasi-či-či-nki-ña-ču* 'Hast thou helped her give birth?' lit., 'Hast thou caused her to cause it to be born?'; *yana-ya-či-ni* 'I caused it to be black' : *yana-ya-či-či-ni* 'I had someone cause it to be black'.

-*na*, reciprocal, indicates that an action is performed mutually by two parties. The personal suffix following -*na* may refer to a singular person: the reciprocity of the action is understood: *maqa-ku-ni* 'I punish of my own free will' : *maqa-na-ku-ni* 'I fight' (presumably someone fights back); *piña-ko-rqa-nki* 'thou wert angry' : *piña-na-ko-rqa-nki* 'thou wert angry with someone who was angry with thee'; *akompaña-n-ku* 'they accompany' : *akompaña-na-ku-n-ku* 'they accompany one another' As may be seen in the above examples -*na* is always followed by -*ku*. -*na* precedes -*rqo* in *muč-'a-na-rqo-ku-n-ku* 'they kiss'.

-*ku* has two allomorphs: -*ka* and -*ku*. -*ka* occurs before -*mu*, -*pu*, and -*ka*; -*ku* occurs elsewhere: *mayl̄a-ku-ni* 'I wash myself'; *mayl̄a-ka-mu-ni* 'I go wash myself'; *tuku-ka-pu-n* 'it is finished' (of itself); *maña-rqa-ka-ka-m-pu-spa* 'having gone and borrowed for oneself'. The form in the last example was preferred to a possible form with only one occurrence of -*ka* with the same translation. More examples would be necessary to establish the meaning of -*ku* occurring twice. -*ku* indicates that the actor is the recipient of the action, that it is performed freely by the actor, or for his own benefit: *sumahta wasí q"awa-nki* 'Thou wilt take good care of the house.' : *sumahta q"awa-ku-nki*

'Thou wilt take good care of thyself.'; *řunakuna* *sumah* *sarata* *řanti-n-ku* *asyenda* *wasipah* 'The men bought good corn for the hacienda.' : *řunakuna* *sumah* *sarata* *řanti-ku-n-ku* 'The men bought good corn for themselves'; *uh* *řatuta* *suyay*, *tiya-y* *čaypi* 'Wait for awhile, sit here' : *kaysitupi* *tiya-ku-y* *uh* *řatuta* *suyariway* 'Sit right here (of thy own free will), thou wilt wait for me a while please.'

-*mu* has two allomorphs: -*m* before -*pu*, and -*mu* elsewhere: *apa-m-po-h* 'one who brings for someone else'; *apa-mu-ni* 'I bring'. -*mu* indicates the direction of the action. When -*mu* occurs with verbs of motion, it indicates that the action proceeds in the direction of the speaker; with other verbs the translation is 'go to...': *apa-ni* 'I take' : *apa-mu-ni* 'I bring'; *yayku-ni* 'I go in' : *yayku-mu-ni* 'I come in'; *l̃ank'a-ni* 'I work' : l̃ank'a-mu-ni 'I go to work'. Verbs could be divided into two classes: those that indicate motion toward the speaker when -*mu* occurs, and those that indicate that motion is involved in the performance of the action. Verbs referring to natural phenomena such as raining usually occur with -mu: *para-mu-n* 'it rains'; *řup"a-mu-sqa-n* 'it shines' (referring to the sun).

-*pu* indicates that the action is performed for someone other than the actor: *apa-mu-sah* 'I will bring'; : *wal̃pitata* *apa-m-pu-sah* 'I will bring him a small hen' lit., 'I will bring a small hen for someone other than myself'; *řesa-sa-n-ku* 'They are praying.' : *almapah* *řesa-pu-sa-n-ku* 'They are praying for the soul.' In the last example -*pu* denotes that the actor performs the action for someone else; *almapah* 'for the soul' specifies who is being prayed for; the sentence could occur without -*pu*.

-*ša*, continuative, has the shapes -*ša*, -*sa*, and -*sqa* in free variation: *ni-ša-ni* ~ *ni-sa-ni* ~ *ni-sqa-ni* 'I am saying'. -*ša* indicates the continuation of the action *řuwa-n* 'he makes' : *řuwa sqa-n* 'he is making'; *ne-rqa-ni* : 'I said' : *ni-ša-rqa-ni* 'I was saying'.

Several modal suffixes may occur in the same word. As many as four modals have been found: *puri-ykača-ri-ku-ša-ni* 'I am strolling'. Examples of all of the combinations occurring in the corpus are given below. In the Quechua forms only the modal suffixes are underlined; quotes are omitted from the glosses on the right hand column.

uhya-*ykača*-*yku*-sqa	he drank (narr.)
řuwa-*ykača*-*rqo*-rqa	he did a little at a time (honorific)
řuwa-*ykača*-*rpa*-n	he quickly walked from one place to another
ƚami-*ykača*-*ri*-n	he started tasting here and there
yanapa-*yku*-*re*-h	one who helps (intensive, polite)
aƚa-*rqo*-*ri*-y	please dig a hole
čihƚa-*rpa*-*ri*-y	please choose (entreating)
t'aqa-*ra*-*ri*-wah	thou wouldst please sort out
uhya-*yku*-*rpa*-*ri*-y	Drink it quickly!

mik"u-ykača-či-y	make him taste
čaki-yku-či-n	he made (them) dry
k'uto-rqo-či-ni	I will cause it to be cut (honorific)
puñu-rpa-či-wa-n-čis	he suddenly makes us sleep
řabya-ra-či-sqa	he made them angry one by one
puñu-ri-či-la-wa-y-ña	just make me sleep then please
wasari-yku-či-ra-n	he made them disappear one by one
alista-yku-ri-či-n-ku	they cause something to be ready
řasura-rpa-ri-či-n	he made him start shaving quickly
ka-ykača-ku-n	he remains
tarpu-yku-ku-na-yki-pah	that so thou wilt plant it for thyself
mik"o-rqo-ko-h	one who eats (honorific)
ik"a-ykača-rqo-ku-y	free swinging motion (hon.)
yuya-rpa-ku-ni	I suddenly remembered
p'aki-ra-ku-n-ku	they were broken one by one
inkyeta-ri-ku-nki	thou art beginning to be restless
uhya-či-ku-nki-čah	ye make thyselves drink
maqa-na-ku-ni	I fight (reciprocal)
yanapa-ykača-na-ku-n-ku	they help each other from time to time
sirbi-yku-ri-ku-y-čah	serve thyselves
pasa-yku-či-ko-rqa-nki	thou madest thyself suffer
mik"o-rqo-ri-ku-h	one who eats (honorific)

muč'a-na-rqo-ku-n-ku	they kiss (honorific)
up"a-rpa-ri-ku-h	one who quickly washes his face
řespeta-ri-či-ku-y	to make oneself begin to be respected
aysa-ysi-ri-na-ku-na	let's start helping one another to carry
mik"u-či-na-ku-na	let's make each other eat
tapu-ykača-mu-sah	I will go ask here and there
toma-yka-mu-y-man	I would go drink
t"ama-ykača-yka-mu-sqa	he came stumbling back and forth
wahya-rqa-mu-y	go call him
p'utu-rpa-mu-sqa	it had suddenly risen
apa-ra-mu-y	bring them one by one
hay-wa-ri-mu-y	please pass
apa-či-mu-wa-y-ku	it is caused to be brought to us (excl.)
mask'a-ka-mu-y	go look for thyself
tapu-ykača-ka-mu-sah	I will go ask here and there for myself
qara-yku-ri-mu-Ɩa-wa-nki-man-ña	Thou wouldst please serve me now
tusu-yku-či-mu-ni	I made them dance!
tapo-rqo-ri-mu-sah	I will go find out (hon.)
Ɩohse-rqo-ka-mu-sqa	it came out (hon.)
aču-rpa-ra-mu-n	she carried them in her muzzle one by one
wihču-rpa-ri-mu-sqa	he threw it quickly

ni-rpa-ri-či-mu-wa-n	he forced me to say
apa-ra-či-mu-n	he has brought them one by one
Ĩank'a-ri-či-mu-ni	I am going to make them work
wayk'u-ri-ka-mu-y	go cook for thyself
tapu-ykača-rpa-ri-mu-na	let's go quickly and ask here and there
maqa-na-ka-mu-na	let's go fight one another
Ĩank'a-yka-pu-n	he worked for someone else
Ĩank'a-rqa-pu-n	he works for someone else (hon.)
wičari-rpa-pu-n	he suddenly went up the hill for someone else
maqa-ra-pu-wa-n	he punishes them for me
řuwa-ri-pu-y	please do it for him
řič'a-či-pu-y-ki	I made thee resemble someone else
q'eĨa-ka-po-h	one who is lazy about something
apa-m-po-h	someone who brings for someone else
interesa-yka-ka-pu-y-man	I would be interested
Ĩank'a-yka-m-pu-ni	I went to work for him
wake-rqo-či- pu-sah	I will make it ready for someone else
kute-rqa-m-po-h	one who respectfully returns for someone else
muč'a-na-ka-pu-n-ku	they kiss each other
Ĩank'a-ri-či-po-rqa	he made them start working for someone else
apa-ri-ka-pu-n-ku	they have taken it for themselves for his sake

kuti-ri-m-pu-n	he came back for someone else
činka-či-ka-pu-sqa	it was lost for someone
čaya-či-m-pu-n	he makes him carry it hither for someone
činka-rpa-ri-pu-sqa	it suddenly got lost for someone
t'aka-rpa-ka-po-rqa-čá	it may have suddenly loosened itself for him
apa-ka-m-po-h-ta	one who brings for someone else
ranti-ykača-l̄a-sa-n-qa-rah	she will still be shopping around
taka-yku-sqa-n	he is knocking
listu-ča-rqo-sa-ni	I am getting ready (hon.)
ruwa-rpa-sa-sqa	he was doing it quickly
apa-ra-sa-sqa	he was carrying them one by one
kača-ri-sqa-n-man	he would be sending (polite)
wañu-či-sa-su-nki	it is killing thee
parla-ku-sqa-n-čah	we (incl.) are talking
puri-ykača-ku-sqa-ni	I am strolling
apa-mu-sa-n	he is bringing
resa-pu-sa-n-ku	they are praying for someone else
waki-yku-či-sqa-n-ku	they are having it prepared
čaya-yka-mu-sa-n	he is arriving
ruwa-yku-ri-ku-sqa-nki	thou art beginning to make for thyself
pampa-yka-pu—sqa-n-ku	they are burying her

t'impo-rqo-či-sqa-y	have it be boiling please
yača-ra-či-sa-n	he teaches them one by one
puri-ri-ku-sqa-ni	I am walking of my own free will
puri-ykača-ri-ku-sqa-ni	I am strolling
řik"u-ri-ku-sqa-nki	thou art beginning to appear
k'anča-yku-ri-mu-sa-n	it is beginning to shine
tara-či-ku-sa-nki	thou art getting thyself excited
apa-či-mu-sa-n	he is making him bring
qeču-na-ku-ša-nki-čah	ye are quarreling with one another
řup"a-ka-mu-ša-n	it is shining
baña-ka-pu-ša-n-ku	they are bathing themselves for someone

4.31312 -ču is a non-final suffix which follows the personal suffixes -wa and -su: qo-wa-ču-n 'let him give me'; qo-su-ču-n 'let him give thee'. -ču is always followed by third person. It indicates a wish or an indirect command: ka-ču-n 'may that be'; Īank'a-ču-n 'have him work'.

4.31313 -hti indicates that once the action denoted by the verb stem is accomplished, another action takes place: paga-hti-n-ku Īank'asah 'when they pay, I will work'; trata-rpa-wa-hti-n libera noqa nini 'When my Elvira scolded me, I said....'. -hti must be followed by a personal suffix of set A. Examples of -hti occurring after -wa and -su are: qo-wa-hti-n 'when he gives me'; qo-so-hti-n 'when he gives thee'.

4.3132 Final suffixes. These are mutually exclusive. They fall into two classes: -rqa, -sqa, -qa, and -sah may be followed by a personal suffix of set A. -wah, -y, and spa may not be followed by personal suffixes. Those which can be followed by personal suffixes will be discussed first.

4.31321 -rqa, past definite, signals that the action took place in the past. When no personal suffix occurs, the meaning of -rqa is 3rd. p. sing. past definite: ne-rqa 'he said'. -rqa is followed by the personal suffixes which refer to all other persons: ne-rqa-ni 'I said'. Examples of -rqa preceded by the personal suffixes -wa and -su are: hamu-wa-rqa-nki 'thou camest for me'; yanara-so-rqa 'he helped thee'. -rqa may be preceded by any of the modal suffixes: řanti-ykača-ku-sa-rqa-qa 'she was shopping around'; nasi-yku-wa-rqa 'he was born to me'; řuwa-rqo-rqa 'he kindly made it'; t'aka-rpa-ka-no-rqa-čá 'it had probably suddenly fallen out'; maqa-ra-rqa-ni 'I punished each one of them'; hamu-re-rqa-nki-čah 'ye started to come'; apa-mo-rqa-ni 'I brought'; maqa-na-ko-rqa-n-ku 'they fought one another'; řuwa-če-rqa-n-ku 'they had it made'.

-sqa, narrative, indicates, primarily, that the speaker is reporting something he has not seen. It is most frequent in tales or narrations and it usually refers to the past. It may also refer to events that have not taken place, but about which a doubt that the speaker had, has been clarified. When no personal suffix occurs the meaning of -sqa is 3rd p. sing.

narrative: ka-sqa 'that it was'. -sqa is followed by the personal suffixes which refer to all other persons: ka-sqa-ni 'that I was'. ka-sqa-n-ku 'that they were'. Examples illustrating the use of -sqa follow:

The speaker is telling about a supernatural being who is supposed to tune musical instruments. He is not very convinced: ačayqa pay oq"arin i pay wahmanta trasformah ka-sqa 'There he is, he lifts, and he is the one who transforms them again.'

In a classroom situation a question is being asked about a passage just read: imayna řunatah kay don řodón' ka-sqa 'What kind of a man was Don Rodon?'.

The speaker and addressee are both looking at some potatoes. The use of -sqa here signals that the owner of the potatoes had already said they were good ones: ananaw kay hina kačita papitayki ka-sa-sqa 'Thy potatoes were certainly lovely!'

Example from a tale: čay misitutah čah suĪk'ituman qo-pu-sqa-n-ku 'And they gave that kitten to the youngest one.'

The speaker is referring to an event which has not taken place but which he has heard about: don domingohpapí sina čay kanqa ka-sqa 'It will probably be at Don Domingo's, they say.'

-qa, third person future, has a very limited distribution. It occurs after -n, third person, or preceded by -n and followed by -n and the pluralizer -ku. The combination -n-qa signals third person singular future time: řuwa-n-qa 'he will make'; řuwa-n-qa-n-ku they will make. These combinations occur after all the modal suffixes: řanti-ykača- Īa-sqa-n-qa-rah 'she will still be shopping around';

kana-yku-re-n-qa 'he will kindle'; *řiko-rqo-n-qa* 'he will see' (hon.); *řuwa-rpa-re-n-qa* 'he will make it right away'; *paga-ra-pu-so-n-qa* 'he will repay thee'; *uhya-či-wa-n-qa* 'he will make me drink'; *para-mo-n-qa* 'it will rain'; *yanapa-na-ko-n-qa-n-ku* 'they will help one another'.

-*sah*, first person future, has the following shapes: -*su* before -*n*, allomorph of first person; -*sqa* ~ -*sa*, in free variation, before -*y* allomorph of first person; -*sah* elsewhere: *poqo-či-su-n-čah* 'we (incl.) will cause it to produce'; *qo-sqa-y-ku* ~ *qo-sa-y-ku* 'we (excl.) will give'; *qo-sa-y-ki* 'I will give thee'; *qo-sah* 'I will give'.

-*sah* occurs after any modal suffix: *hamu-ykača-sah* 'I am going to come from time to time'; *řuwa-rpa-ri-sah* 'I'll make it right away'; *q'ati-yka-mu-Ĩa-sah-ña-ču* 'Shall I drive it now?'; *caĨari-yku-Ĩa-su-n-čah-ña-ču* 'Shall we (incl.) begin already?'; *tapo-rqo-ri-mu-sah* 'I'll go find out'; *apa-ra-sah* 'I will bring them one by one'; *k'uto-rqo-či-sah* 'I will have it cut' (hon.) *maqa-na-ku-sah* 'I will fight'; *t'aĨa-ri-mu-sqa--y-ki-čah* 'I will begin to shake it for you'; *kuti-m-pu-sah* 'I will come back for someone'; *řuwa-Ĩa-sa-sah* 'I'll just be doing'; *řuwa-sqa-sqa-y-ku* 'we (excl.) shall be making'; *ĨuĨa-ku-sah* 'I will lie'.

4.31322 *Final suffixes not followed by personal suffixes.* -*wah*, second person conditional, and -*y*, imperative, may be followed by the pluralizer -čah.

-*wah*, second person conditional is translated 'would' or 'could': *toka-wah* 'thou wouldst knock'; *toka-wah-čah* 'ye would knock'.

-*wah* may be preceded by any of the modals: *puri-ykača-wah* 'thou wouldst stroll'; *apa-yku-rpa-ri-wah* 'thou wouldst please carry quickly'; *wahva-rqo-ri-mu-wah* 'thou wouldst please go call' (hon.); *suwa-či-ku-wah-tah* 'careful that thou wouldst be robbed'; *t'aqa-ra-ri-wah* 'thou wouldst please sort out'; *puñu-ka-pu-wah-čah* 'ye would fall asleep'; *maqa-na-ku-wah* 'thou wouldst fight'; *mik"u-ri-ku-sqa-wah* 'thou wouldst be eating'.

-*wah* cannot occur with the personal suffixes -*wa* and -*su*. -*ki*, second person, and -*man*, allative, occur instead. Otherwise -*nki-man* and -*wah* are in free variation: *parla-wah* ~ *parla-nki-man* 'thou wouldst speak'; *qo-wa-nki-man* 'thou wouldst give me'.

-*y*, imperative, indicates a direct command: *řuwa-y* 'Make thou!' *l̃ank'a-y-čah* 'Work ye!' -*y* occurs with any modal: *toma-ykača-ri-y* 'please taste'; *apura-yku-ri-y* 'please hurry'; *qo-rpa-y* 'hit him'; *mik"o-rqo-ri-y* 'Do eat!'; *apa-ra-y* 'take them one by one'; *apa-ri-ku-y* 'take for thyself'; *muč-a-na-ku-y-čis* 'kiss one another'; *yayku-ri-mu-y* 'come in please'; *řuwa-pu-y* 'make it for him'; *t'imqo-rqo-či-sqa-y* 'please have it boiling'.

-*spa*, simulative, has two allomorphs: -*´s*, and -*spa*.

-*´s* apparently occurs in fast colloquial speech and -*spa* occurs elsewhere: *ma* *saykú-s* *tukunčah* ~ *ma* *sayku-spa* *tukunčah* 'we finished without getting tired'. -*spa* indicates that an action is performed at the same time or immediately before another action: *p"uška-spa* *pureh* *kani* 'I spun while I walked'; *eskwelamanta* *Iohsi-mu-spa* *hamusah* 'I'll come right after I come out from school.'

-*spa* occurs after all the modals. *oq"ari-ykača-spa-qa* 'lifting several times'; *mača-yku-spa-čá* 'probably being dizzy'; *yača-rqo-spa* 'knowing' (hon.); *maña-rqa-ka-ka-m-pu-spa* 'having gone and borrowed'; *řuwa-rpa-ri-spa* 'having made'; *say-ri-či-mu-spa* 'making her get up'; *yanapa-na-ku-spa* 'helping each other'; *čaya-mu-sa-spa* 'on arriving here'; *ni-ra-spa* 'telling each one'.

4.3133 *Inflectional* *phrases*. There are two types of inflectional phrases, both built by two verbs, a contentive, and the functor *ka-* 'be'. The first type consists of a verb stem plus the agentive suffix -*h* and the verb *ka-* plus a personal suffix. The meaning is habitual action in the past: *Iank'a-h* *ka-ni* 'I used to work', lit., 'one who works I am'.

The second type consists of a verb stem plus a personal suffix plus a conditional or future morpheme and the forms *ka-sqa* or *ka-rqa*. Phrases with the form *ka-sqa* express doubt: *wañu-či-n-man* 'he would kill' : *wañu-či-n-man* *ka-sqa* 'he may have killed'. Phrases with the form *ka-rqa* are past conditional

Īank'a-n-man 'he would work' : *Īank'a-n-man ka-rqa* 'he would have worked'.

4.314 *Independent suffixes*. Independent suffixes are suffixes which occur with verbs, substantives, and particles. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the independent suffix *-ču* with a verb stem, a substantive stem and a particle: *muna-nki-ču* 'Dost thou want?'; *sara-ču* 'Corn?-; *mana-ču* 'No?'.

Two or more of these suffixes may occur in the same word. The position of -Īa, will be discussed separately. Table four shows the relative position of occurrence of the rest of the independent suffixes when two or more occur in the same word. Examples: *wasi-Īa-ña-puni-tah-pis* 'And there is just the house left!'; *čay-rah-puni* 'It's still that one!'; *parla-ykača-ri-ku-spa-Īa-rah-puni* 'Still only chatting!'; *čay-ta-tah-puni* 'And that one indeed!'; *iča-tah-pis* 'and perhaps also'; *sara-yki-pis-qa* 'thy corn also'; *wasi-Īa-pi-puni-pis* 'at least in the house'; *oq'ariĪa-n-ku-tah-qa* 'they also lift'.

When independent suffixes are added to substantives their relative position of occurrence is after the relational suffixes; when they occur with verbs, after the final suffixes. Particles, by definition, add only independent suffixes.

-ña is translated 'now, already': *aĪin-ya-sa-rqa-ña* 'he is already getting better'; *Īank'a-ykača-ri-ku-n-ña* 'he is working off and on now'; *qayĪa-Īa-ña* 'already near'.

-rah indicates that something is continuing or something has to happen before something else: *karu-pi-răh* 'It is still near.'; *mana yača-ni-rah-ču*

Table Four

Independent Suffixes[1]

1	2-3	4	5	6
		Comparative	Validational Suffixes	Intensive
-ña -rah	-tah -puni	-pis	-čus -čá -ču -sis -min	-ri
			5-6	
			Topic marker	
			-qa	

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[1] For the position of -l̃a see 1.314.

'I don't know yet.'; pwesto-n-ča-ku-na-rah 'Let's take our places first.'

-puni, emphatic, is often translated 'always', but it does not necessarily refer to time: hina-l̄a-ta-puni 'that way always'; doña presenta-puni kasqa 'It was indeed Doña Presenta!'; noqa-l̄a-manta-puni 'on my own'.

-tah links words, phrases, or whole sentences: q"aris warmis alkalde-tah řinku 'The men, the women, and the mayor went.'; sumah koká čihl̄akunki sumah piskutatah 'Thou wilt pick good coca and good pisco.'; nisqa tatanqa platús mayl̄ananta pedro-tah hwanman nisqa qan mayl̄anki nispa 'His father told him to wash the dishes and Peter said to John: "Thou wilt wash them".

-tah also has an interrogative function when it occurs in construction with indefinite-interrogative stems. -tah may be suffixed to one of these stems or to another word in construction with it: ima-rayku-tah 'Why?'; pi-tah 'Who?'; imayna-manta-tah 'How?'; imayna aq"a-ta-tah kuma santusahpi uhyasah 'What kind of chicha am I going to drink at Santusa's?'

-tah occurring after -wah, second person conditional, means 'beware': suwa-či-ku-wah-tah 'watch that thou dost not let thyself be robbed'.

-pis, comparative, indicates that whatever is denoted by the word to which it is suffixed is being compared to something else. It is frequently translated 'also': sara-m-pis 'his corn also'; muna-n-ku-pis 'they also want'; q"awa-wa-n-ku-mam-pis 'besides, they would criticize me'.

-*pis* occurring in the same word with *l̄a* means 'any': *platu-l̄a-ta-pis* 'any dish'; *mayqen-la-pis* 'anybody'.

-*pis* and -*ri*, intensive, are mutually exclusive.

-*qa*, topic marker, indicates which word is the topic of the utterance. *keldu-yoh-qa* 'with broth'; *kay-qa* 'here'; *usqay-ta-qa* 'quickly'; *ne-n-qa* 'he said'.

Validational suffixes. These are five suffixes which indicate whether what is said is considered factual or not. They exclude each other and they are also mutually exclusive with the topic marker.

-*čus*, dubitative, has two allomorphs: *´*, stress, and -*čus*. Stress occurs in free variation with -*čus* when word final preceding the particle *sina*; -*čus* occurs elsewhere. -*čus* signals that the speaker doubts what he is saying or that he is asking an indirect question. Examples: *arí yača-l̄a-n-čus sina* 'Yes, she seems to know.'; *qhapah řuna-s-l̄á sina* 'Probably rich men.'; *imayna-pi-čus nasičikorqanipis* 'I wonder how I had the child.'; *wawa-s-čus* 'perhaps the children'.

-čá, conjectural. The speaker is in doubt, but he suggests that something may be true: *toko-pi-čá* 'probably in Toco'; *wañu-n-man-čá* 'He would probably die.'; *wasi-m-pi-ña-čá* 'probably already at home'.

-*ču*, non-factual. The utterance in which -*ču* occurs is interrogative unless a negator to which -*ču* is not suffixed is also present. The utterance in which a negator occurs is negative. An utterance in which -*ču* is suffixed to a negator is negative-interrogative: *yača-nki-ču* 'Dost thou know?'; *mana* *yača-ni-ču* 'I don't know'; *mana-ču* *yačanki* 'Dost thou not know?'.

-*sis*, reportive, has two shapes: -*sis* and *sá*. Four instances of the first form and two of the second occurred in the corpus. One speaker used -*sis* and another -*sá* in similar environment and with similar meaning: *qosa-Īa-y-sá* *Īank'anman* *kasqa* 'It is said that my husband would work.'; *qosa-Īa-y-sis* 'my husband (they said)'; *hamu-n-man-sá* 'that he is coming is doubted'; *řuwa-ku-n-man-sis* 'he would make something for himself (they said)'.

-*min*, factual, indicates certainty. -*min* has the alternative form -*n* which occurred only five times in the corpus, only after vowels. -*min* occurs after both consonants and vowels: *ama-n* 'don't'; *p'unčay-ta-n* 'day' (acc.); *ña-n* 'already'; *kučiĪu-yuh-min* 'certainly a person with a knife'; *čay-min* 'that one'; *noqa-min* 'I am the one'.

-*ri*, intensive, is an emphatic suffix which sometimes goes untranslated but which is usually rendered by 'and'. -*ri* is often accompanied by raising intonation. Examples: *cay* *señora-ri* *nisqa* 'and that lady said'; *maypitah* *čay* *ka-sqa-ri* 'And where is that?'; *qan-ri* 'And thou?; *hamu-sqa-n-rayku-ča-ri* 'Because of his coming probably!'

-*l̄a* is translated 'only', 'just'. In substantive patterns -*l̄a* follows -*rayku*, causal relational suffix, and -*ti* 'including'. It may precede or follow -*yoh* 'with' and -*h*, agentive. Otherwise its position is after -*ni* preceding the personal suffixes: *wasi-rayku-l̄a* 'only on account of my house'; *kinsa-n-ti-l̄a-n-wan-ña* 'just with all three now'; *kiru-s-ni-l̄a-yoh* 'person just with teeth'; *ima-yoh-l̄a-čus* 'I wonder what with'; *řik"u-ri-l̄a-h-tah* 'one who also appears'; *molesta-so-h-l̄a-puni* 'one who bothers thee; *wasi-s-ni-l̄a-y* 'only my houses'.

In verb patterns -*l̄a* may precede or follow -*ša*, durative: *puri-ykača-ri-ku-ša-l̄a-ni-puni* 'I am just strolling.'; *řanti-ykača-l̄a-ša-n-qa-rah* 'She will still be just shopping around.' -*l̄a* follows -*spa*, simultative: *uhya-rqo-ku-spa-l̄a* 'drinking only'. Otherwise the position of this suffix is immediately preceding -*wa* and -*su*, personal suffixes of Set C.: *gusta-ri-l̄a-so-rqa-ču* 'Didst thou like it?'; *puñu-ri-či-l̄a-wa-y-ña* 'Just make me sleep now.'

4.32 Derivation.

4.321 Governing suffixes.

4.3211 Verbalizers.

-*ya* derives intransitive verbs from substantives. The derived verb means to become whatever is denoted by the stem: *q"apah*-'rich' : *q"apah-ya*-'become rich'; *hatun* 'large' : *hatun-ya*- 'become large'.

-*ča* derives transitive verbs from substantives. The derived verb means to cause to become whatever is denoted by the stem: *q'epi* 'bundle' : *q'epi-ča-* 'make a bundle of'; *hatun* 'large' : *hatun-ča-* 'enlarge'.

-*Īi* derives verbs from substantives; the derived verb means to wear whatever is denoted by the stem: *huk'uta* 'sandal' : *huk'uta-Īi-* 'put on sandals'; *lutu* 'mourning' : *lutu-Īi-* 'wear mourning clothes'.

4.3212 *Substantivizers.*

4.32121 -*ri* derives agent nouns from verbs. Its most frequent occurrence is after the derivational suffix -*ysi* (4.3221). Thus *mik'u-ysi-* 'help eat' is the underlying form of the derivative *mik"u-ysi-ri* 'one who helps eat'; *waqa-ysi-* 'help weep' is the underlying form of the derivative *waqa-ysi-ri* 'professional mourner' lit., 'one who helps weep'. This suffix is not frequent. It is probably unproductive.

4.32122 *Productive derivational suffixes* -*h*, -*na*, -*y*, -*sqa*. These suffixes derive substantives from verbs. Their position is after the modal suffixes. -*h* and -*y* also occur after the personal suffixes -*wa* and -*su*. Thus a derived substantive may be built on an underlying form which consists of a root plus inflectional material. The derived substantive participates in every inflectional pattern. Syntactically, forms derived by these suffixes function as substantives and as *verbals*

-*h*, agentive, derives agent substantives: *Īank'a-* 'work' : *Īank'a-h* 'one who works'. *Īank'a-h-kuna* shows inflection for number; *Īank'a-h-ni-yki--man* 'to thy worker' shows inflection for person and case; Iank'a-h-ni-n-ti-n 'including the worker' illustrates the occurrence of the suffix -ti with an agent substantive; kute-rqa-m-po-h 'one who respectfully comes back for someone else's sake' consists of the underlying form kuterqampu- and the agentive suffix -h; the underlying form consists of the root kuti 'return' and the modals -rqo, honorific, -mu denoting direction, and -pu denoting that the action is performed for someone other than the actor. molesta-so-h 'one who bothers thee', consists of the underlying form molesta-su- and the agentive -h; the underlying form consists of the root molesta- 'bother' and the personal suffix -su.

-na derives substantives from verbs: mik"u- 'eat' : mik"u-na 'food'. mik"u-na-s 'foods' shows inflection for number; mik"u-na-yki 'thy food' shows inflection for person; mik"u-na-yki-pah 'for thy food' shows inflection for person and case; mik"u-na-ni-n-ti-n 'including the food' is an instance of the occurrence of the suffix -ti with a na-derivative. In the form řuwa-či-na-yki-pah 'in order for thee to cause something to be made', the causative modal suffix -či stands in construction with the verb root řuwa- 'make'. The underlying form derived by -na is řuwa-či-. The inflectional suffixes that follow are typically substantival and the form is thus morphologically a substantive.

The combination -na-ya (-na plus the verbalizer -ya) means 'to feel like' or 'to begin to': onqo- 'to be sick' : onqo-na-ya- 'to begin to be sick.

-*y* derives substantives from verbs: *ka-* 'be' : *ka-y* 'condition'; *muna-* 'love' (vb.) : *muna-y* 'love' (subst.) *mik"u-y-kuna* 'foods' shows inflection for number; *ka-y-ri-ku-manta* 'about our (excl.) condition' shows inflection for person and case; *muna-y-ni-n-ti-n* 'including his love' is an instance of the suffix -*ti* occurring with a substantive derived by -*y*. In the form *pita-ri-y-ta* 'to begin smoking' (acc.), the modal inceptive suffix -*ri* occurs as a constituent of the underlying form *pita-ri-*. *oq"ari-ysi-wa-y* 'to help me lift' consists of the underlying form *oq"ari-ysi-wa-* and the derivational suffix -*y*; the underlying form consists of the derived stem *oq"ari-ysi-* 'to help lift' and the personal suffix -*wa*.

-*sqa* derives substantives from verbs: *wañu-* 'die' : *wañu-sqa* 'a dead person'; *uywa-* 'bring up' : *uywa-sqa* 'person who has been brought up'. *wañu-sqa-s-ni-n-ku-man* 'to their dead' shows inflection for number, person, and case; *uywa-sqa-s-ni-n-ti-n* 'including those he has brought up' is an instance of the occurrence of the suffix -*ti* with a substantive derived by -*sqa*.

4.3221 -*ysi* derives verbs from verbs. The meaning of this suffix is 'to help': *mik"u* 'eat' : *mik"u-ysi-* 'help eat'.

4.3222 *Diminutives*. -*itu*, -*ito*, -*ita*, -*situ*, and -*sita* are diminutive suffixes which derive substantives from substantives. Their distribution is unpredictable: *IoqaIa* 'boy' : *IoqaI-itu* - *IoqaI-ita* 'small boy'; *tumpa* 'a little bit' : *tump-ita* 'a tiny little bit'; *kasero* (term of address) : *kaser-ito* - *kaser-itu* (term of address dim.); *huč'uy* 'small' : *huč'uy-situ* 'very small'; *ánhel* 'angel' : *anhel-itu* 'little angel'; *hwán* 'John' : *hwan-itu* 'little John'; *birhen* 'virgin' : *birhen-sita* 'little virgin'; *warmi* 'woman' : *warmi-sita* ~ *warmi-situ* 'little woman'. -*itu*, -*ito*- and -*ita* are the only suffixes beginning with a vowel; when they are added to a stem which ends in a vowel the stem vowel is dropped: *p'isqo* 'bird' : *p'isq-etu* 'little bird'.

4.3223 -*yoh* derives substantives from substantives. It indicates that the stem to which it is added is possesor of whatever the substantive denotes: *trigu* 'wheat' : *trigu-yoh* 'someone who owns wheat'; *balór* 'courage' : *balor-ni-yoh* 'someone with courage'; *mama* 'mother' : *mama-yoh* 'someone who has a mother'. -*yoh* occurs after the plural suffix in *wasi-s-ni-yoh* 'owner of houses'. The substantives derived by -*yoh* may be inflected for number, as in *wasi-s-ni-yoh-ni-y* 'my landlord', and case, as in *wasi-yoh-pah* 'for the landlord'. -*yoh* occurs with numerals meaning 'with': *čunka-uh-ni-yoh* 'eleven', lit., 'ten one with'.

CHAPTER 5: CONSTRUCTIONS

The construction types are predictive, connective, paratactic, directive, attributive, and coordinative. Predictive constructions build narrative clauses; connectice constructions build equational clauses. These constructions will be discussed in chapter seven. Paratactic constructions build sentences in parataxis; these, as well as the coordinative constructions which have clauses as ICs, will be described in chapter eight. In this chapter we shall discuss objective and prepositional constructions, which are uncentered, and attributive and coordinative constructions, which are centered.

5.1 *Objective constructions*. Objective constructions build objective constitutes which consist of a *director* (a verb or verbal with or without attributive elements) and an *axis* (a substantive in the accusative case or a substantive phrase where the head is in the accusative case). The director may occur first or second, more frequently the latter.

Examples with director first and axis second.

(1) Director a verb; axis a substantive: *munani* / *čaytaqa* 'I want that'. (2) Director a modified verb; axis a substantive: *ma* *wañučinmanču* / *čaytaqa* 'It won't kill that'. (3) Director a verb; axis a substantive phrase: *řehsinkičahču* / *aqʰa* *wasita* 'Dost thou know a chicha tavern?' (4) Director a modified verb; axis a substantive phrase: *sumah* *tapayčah* / *čay* *tomata* 'Cover that outlet well'.

Examples with axis first and director second.

(1) Axis a substantive; director a verb: *uhta* / *nisqayki* 'I will tell thee something'. (2) Axis a substantive; director a modified verb: *waĪpata* / *mana aparorqaču* 'He didn't bring a hen'. (3) Axis a substantive phrase; director a verb: *p'unčay puriytapis* / *q"eĪakuĪankuña* 'They are lazy about half a day's walk'. (4) Axis a substantive phrase; director a modified verb: *kay pučohtaqa* / *q'ayaĪaña tukusah* 'Tomorrow I'll finish that which is left over'.

Examples with derived forms as directors.

(1) Axis a substantive; director a *na*-verbal: *trigú* / *pičaykunapah* 'in order to sweep the wheat'. (2) Axis a substantive; director an agentive: *čahrata* / *q"awareh* 'to look at the field'. (3) Axis a substantive phrase; director a *y*-verbal: *hatun tutumata* / *uhyarqokúy* 'to drink a large gourd'. (4) Axis a substantive phrase; director a *sqa*-verbal: *pobre henteta* / *apasqanta* 'his taking of poor people'.

5.2 *Prepositional constructions*. A preposition is director and a substantive is the axis: *en ande* 'on a platform'. This construction is not frequent; it seems to take the place of inflection for relation in some cases. Prepositional constitutes are usually attributive to verbs: *en ande apanku* 'They carry it on a platform'.

5.3 *Attributive constructions*. Attributive constructions are of two types: (1) those where the head is a verb or a verbal, a modified verb, or an objective constitute, and (2) those where the head is a substantive or a substantive phrase.

5.31 *Attributive constructions where the head is a verb.* In constructions where the head is a verb, the attribute may be a substantive, a substantive phrase, or a particle. The attribute usually precedes the head. The substantive which is attributive or which functions as the head of a substantive phrase is generally inflected for relation. Sometimes a postposed adjective will be inflected. Examples follow; the occurring relational suffix is given in parenthesis:

(-*ta*)

usqayta / *řuway* 'do it quickly'

mančay *sumahta* / *trabahasqayku* 'We will work very well'

(-*wan*)

čaywan / *mantyenespa* 'supporting him with that'

čay *iskaywan* / *tinkukusqanku* 'he had met those two'

(-man)

ospitalman / *yačaykuspaqa* 'entering the hospital'

aq"awasiman / *purikusqa* 'He had gone to the chicha tavern'.

(-*manta*)

l̄ahtamanta / *hamorqa* 'He came from the city'

perqa *wasamanta* / *wačimuwan* 'He threw a rock at me from behind a wall'

(-*pi*)

kaypi / *q"epanki* 'Thou wilt stay here'

řumi *patitapi* / *kanqa* 'It will be on top of a rock'

(-*pah*)

čaypahčá / *kanqa* 'It must be for that'

kay warangal̄apah / kuturikusah 'I will cut for the sake of these thousand of mine'. (The speaker has offered a thousand bolivianos in a haircutting ceremony.)

(-*rayku*)

wasirayku / *hamuni* 'I came on account of the house'

čay *kabal̄urayku* / *řiporqa* 'He went on account of that horse'

Examples where the attribute is uninflected: *sumah* / *tokayku* 'We play well'; *kay* *č"ika* *unayña* / *činkapun* 'lost for such a long time'.

An example where the attribute is a particle: *antis* / *sufrini* 'I suffer rather'.

Examples where the head is a verb with the independent non-factual suffix -*ču* and the attribute is a negator, are: *mana* / *yačaniču* 'I don't know' and *ama* / *řabyakuyču* 'don't get mad'. A similar construction is that where the head is a verb and the attribute a negator but the suffix -*ču* does not occur. The phrase built by this construction occurs in subordinate clauses. An example is: *mana* / *yačaspa* (*noqa* *l̄akikušani*) 'Not knowing, (I was getting sad)'.

5.32 *Attributive constructions where the head is a verb* *phrase*. Examples of constructions where the head is a verb phrase and the attribute is an inflected substantive or substantive phrase follow. The occurring relational suffix is given in parentheses:

(-*wan*)

pahawan / *q'ala* *p'ampaykapunku* 'they bury him completely with hay'

(-*man*)

haqaynehman / *tumpatawan* *iskay* *čakitawan* *t"askiykuneqa* 'Over there I stumbled a little more, two steps more'

(-*pi*)

čaypi / *tril̄akun* *čay* *animaleswan* 'There they thresh with those horses'

punku *wasapi* / *gařotewanña* *sayarišawasqa* 'Behind the door, she was waiting for me with a club'

(-*manta*)

čay *oramanta* / *mana* *čayakusqanku* 'From that time, they didn't arrive'

(-*pah*)

čaypah / *sumahta* *wakerqočipusah* 'I'll prepare him well for that'

Examples where the attribute is uninflected:

kunan / *wil̄awasqayku* *haqay* *hal̄p'asniykimanta* 'Now thou wilt inform us about those lands of thine'

q'aya / *řil̄asahtah* *aswan* *karuman* 'Tomorrow I'll go further away'

5.33 *Attributive constructions where the head is an objective constitute.* Examples where the attribute is a substantive inflected for relation or a substantive phrase with the head inflected for relation:

(-ta)

q'epiykačanku uhta uhtatah / tukuynehta 'They carry one thing and another everyplace'

las tres de la mañanata / sayaričisqa hwanitutaqa

'At three o'clock in the morning he got Johnny up'

misk'iÏata / čink'aykučisani aq'ataqa 'Sweetly I am drinking down chicha'

(-man)

wasinman / buřusnintapis čayačin 'She makes the donkeys arrive home'

mulasninman / lata kalangata wark'onqa 'She will hang the tin bell on the mules'

kontrá qočiwanku / noqamanqa 'They caused a blow to be given to me'

saluduyta čayačini / q'ala řinkón kompañeros

kampesinusman 'I send greetings to the comrade peasants of every corner'

(-manta)

čahramanta / papata apamusqan 'He is bringing potatoes from the field'

č'aki lomamanta / pusamuyčih čay hampirita 'Bring that witch doctor from the dry hill'

(-pi)

čaypi / kay papata qolqečasah 'There I will turn these potatoes into money'

q'očapampa Ïahtaypi / pabimentasyonta řuwaykučiy

'To have the pavement done in the city of Cochabamba'

(-pah)

imapahtah / wah simí yačakunčah 'What do we learn another language for?'

sul̄k'a wawayrah / kamisitasta sapatustawan
ranteroapusah 'I'll buy little shirts and shoes for my youngest child'

(-wan)

řumiwan / čakinta p'akispa 'Breaking his leg with a rock'

hwanwan / l̄oqal̄ata kačačini 'I make John send the boy'

čay řuna wirawan / belás řuwakunmansis 'He would make himself candles with the grease of men'

yačah řunakunawan / aswan karu hal̄p'aspi
kawsakohkunahpa simisninta aparičimun 'It has its learned men bring the languages of the men who live in far away lands'

5.34 Attributive constructions where the head is a substantive or a substantive phrase. In these constructions the head usually follows the attribute, but it may precede it. The attribute may be a substantive, a substantive phrase, or a particle.

5.341 Constructions where the head precedes the attribute. These constructions may be grouped as follows:

(1) Constructions where the attribute is a noun which is inflected for relation.

(1a) The attributive noun in the genitive case; the head inflected for person: umanku / kompañerospa 'the comrade's heads'.

(1b) The attributive noun in the ablative or instrumental case; the head uninflected: kampesinos / bal̄ĕmanta 'peasants from the valley'; *wardiasqa* / *eskopetankuwan* 'guards with their rifles'.

(2) The attributive as an adjective; the head a noun or a substantive phrase: *bolibya* / *entero* 'all Bolivia'; *yakuta* / *astawan doblé* 'more than twice as much water'.

(3) The attributive a substantive phrase; the head a substantive phrase: *kompañeros kampesinos* / *bolibya entero* 'The comrade peasants of all Bolivia'. There are very few instances of this construction.

(4) The attribute the particle *sina*; the head a substantive with the suffix -*čus* or a substantive phrase with -*čus* occurring on the head: *mačasqačus* / *sina* 'probably a drunk man'; *q"apah řunasɫačus* / *sina* 'rich people probably'.

2.342 *Constructions where the attribute precedes the head*. These may be grouped as follows:

(1) The attribute a substantive or a substantive phrase; the head a noun or a substantive phrase.

(1a) The attribute uninflected; the head uninflected: *čiya* / *uma* 'lousy head'; *wasi* / *punku* 'house door'; *aswan sumah* / *terno* 'the best suit'; *mančay ašk"a* / *aq"a wasis* 'very many chicha taverns'.

(1b) The attribute in the genitive case; the head inflected for person: *warmehpa* / *kamisan* 'The woman's shirt'; *qampa* / *wasiyki* 'thy house'; *paya buřaypa* / *čakin* 'the old donkey's leg'; *řeypa* / *yana kabaɫon* 'the king's black horse'.

(1c) The attribute in the ablative case; the head uninflected: *sumah saramanta* / *čuwa aq"a* 'liquid chicha from good corn'.

(2) The attribute an adjective.

(2a) The attribute an adjective of class A; the head a noun: *kul̄i* / *aq"a* 'purple chicha'; *k'ača* / *warmi* 'pretty woman'.

(2b) The attribute an intensifier; the head an adjective: *mančay* / *ašk"a* 'very many'.

(3) The attribute a determiner.

(3a) The head a noun: *kay* / *loqal̄a* 'this boy; *čay* / *řuna* 'that man'.

(3b) The head an adjective: *čay* / *sul̄k'a* 'that youngest one'.

(3c) The head a proper noun: *čay* / *kasyanu* 'that Casiano'.

(3d) The head a substantive phrase: *čay* / *karu hal̄p'as* 'those far away lands'.

(4) The attribute an indefinite-interrogative; the head a substantive: *mašk"a* / *bolitastah* 'How many marbles?'.

(5) The attribute a negator; the head a substantive or substantive phrase: *mana* / *pukaču* 'not read'; *mana* / *sumah saraču* 'not good corn'.

5.39 *Attributive constructions where the head is a particle*. These are not very common constructions. Examples have been found, however, where the head is a particle and the attribute which is also a particle, precedes, and one example where the head occurs with the suffix -*čus* and the attribute is the particle *sina*.

Examples: *řesyén* *entós* 'just then'; *manačus* *sina* 'probably not'.

5.4 *Coordinative constructions*. Coordinative constructions are of three types: additive, alternative, and appositive.

5.41 *Additive constructions*. These constructions generally have verbs or substantives as constituents. Particles occasionally stand in construction with substantives. The independent suffix -*tah* often occurs in the second constutuent; the relational suffix -*wan* may occur in the second constituent or in both; the independent suffix -*pis* sometimes occurs on the last constituent. The construction may be marked by the loan words *i* 'and' or *ni* 'or' (in negative constructions) or it may not be marked, but in that case, the constituents are inflected in the same way.

Examples where the constituents are verbs, modified verbs, or objective constitutes:

(Verb / verb)

mik"orqa / uyarqatah 'he ate and drank'

(Attribute, verb / attribute, verb)

eraman *čurakun* / *i* / *čaypi* *tril̃akun* 'It is placed in the threshing field and there it is threshed'.

(Verb / objective constitute)

řut"unčah / i / kabil̄asta řuwančah 'We cut it down and make the sheaves'.

Examples where the constituents are substantives or substantive phrases:

(Substantive / substantive)

uhta / uhtatah 'one thing and another'

kokawan / piskul̄awan 'coca and pisco'

warmi / i / wawasniy 'my wife and my children'

gobyernopah / ni / pweblopah 'for the government or the people'

al̄inl̄atañā / wistul̄atañā 'calmly and limping

(Substantive / substantive phrase)

sinsero / i / tukuy songo 'sincerely and wholeheartedly'

kay lisasta / oqastawan 'these lisas and ocas' (tubers)

(Substantive phrase / substantive phrase)

manañā noqaykoh řuwasqaykuču / ni / mayqen tokadorpa řuwasqanču 'Neither our work nor the work of any player'.

(Substantive / substantive / substantive)

klisamanta / taratamanta / ansaldumanta 'from Cliza, Tarata or Ansaldo'

papasta / oqasta / saratapis 'potatoes, ocas, and corn'.

An example of a particle phrase in construction with a substantive is: *řesyén entóns i ačaypi* 'right then and there'.

5.42 *Alternative constructions*. Alternative constructions are not as common as additive constructions. There are two main types: (1) the constituents are substantives or substantive phrases; (2) the constituents are a verb and a negator. In both of these types the suffixes -*ču*, -*čus* or -*pis* occur on both constituents. -*ču* occurs with questions; the other two suffixes occur with statements.

Examples of type (1):

ašk"ačus pisičus 'much or little'

warmisitaču q"arisitaču 'A little girl or a little boy?'

tariheñomampis kruseñomampis 'to someone from Tarija or from Santa Cruz'

uh ařoba hal̄p'ataču uh huč'uy hal̄p'ataču 'The land that can be sown with a peck of grain or a small piece of land?'

yurahpis činuspis yanapis 'white, Chinese or black'

Examples of type (2):

mañačisqankučus manačus 'if they are causing it to be requested or not'

munasahpis amapis 'whether I want to or not'

atiymanču manaču 'Could I or not?'

5.43 *Appositive constructions*. Appositive constructions commonly have two constituents although it is possible to find three. The constituents are either substantives or substantive phrases. Whenever the appositive constitute participates in other constructions which require the occurrence of a relational suffix both or all of the constituents will be inflected in the same way.

Examples where both constituents are substantives:

mama / *bihtuka* 'Mama Bihtuka'

čaykuna / *q"apahkuna* 'those, the rich'

noqaykupah / *kampesinadupah* 'for us, for the peasantry'

kastil̄uman / *řeypaman* 'to the castle, to the king's'

The first constituent a substantive and the second a substantive phrase:

patronniyki / *niño* *osbaldo* 'your boss, Master Oswald'

mastrusta / *sumah* *normalistasta* 'teachers, good normalists'

Both constituents substantive phrases:

kay *bal̄ementa* *dirihentewan* / *migél* *beysagawan* 'with the leader of this valley, Miguel Veizaga'

Three constituents all of which are substantive phrases built by attributive constructions: the heads are in the accusative case and marked as topics with -*qa*; the whole constitute occurs as a direct object:

uh čikitoqa / *čay* *čikitoqa* / *čay* *l̄ant'eritoqa* 'a boy, that boy, that little woodsman'.

CHAPTER 6. PHRASE STRUCTURE

In this chapter we will describe the elements that can function as subjects, predicates, direct objects, and attributes (predicate attributes, verbal attributes, and clause attributes).

6.1 *Elements that function as subjects.* The following elements occur as subjects: nouns, adjectives, personal pronouns, indefinite-interrogatives, determiners, proper nouns, substantive phrases, and clauses with *na*-forms as centers.

Examples:

Noun: *řeysitu* (*waqasqa*) 'The prince (cried)'; adjective: *mačasqa* (*yaykorqa*) 'The drunk man (entered)'; personal pronoun: *noqaykupis* (*l̄ank'ayku*) 'We also (work)'; indefinite interrogative: *pitah* (*yanapasorqa*) 'Who (helped thee?)'; determiner: *čayqa* (*gusturil̄anmanta waqarin*) 'That (plays by itself)'; proper noun: *pedroqa* (*nisqa kay hwan p'akirparin mayl̄ašahtiy*) 'Peter (said: "John broke them when I was washing them")'.

Substantive phrases built by any of the attributive, additive, and appositive constructions discussed in 5 occur as subjects. No examples of substantive phrases built by alternative constructions were found. This may be accidental.

na-clauses that function as subjects are of the following types:

(Verbal)

řut"una (*tiyan*)'(It has to be)cut down' *sapa* *eskinapitah* / *insyensyananku* (*tiyan*) 'In each corner (they have to) burn incense'

(Verbal / object)

kosečataqa / *qal̄arina* (*tiyan*) 'The harvest (has [illegible]'to be) begun'

(Predicate / discontinuous subject)

benefisyakunan (*tiyan*) *čay* *hal̄p'aqa* 'The land (has to) fertilize itself'

(Subject / predicate consisting of attribute and verbal)

qan / *eskwelaman* *řinayki* (*tiyan*) 'Thou (hast to) go to school'

(Subject / objective constitute)

triguyohqa / *aq"ata* *řuwanan* (*tiyan*) 'The wheat owner (has to) make chicha'

6.2 *Elements that function as predicates*. Predicates may be verbs with or without attributes, or objective constitutes. Predicates may be simple or compound.

Examples:

(Verb)

(*čay* *tyempoqa*) *tukukapun* ' (Those times) are over'

(Attribute / verb)

(*haqay* *señora*) *q"epayta* / *hamušan* '(That lady) coming behind'

(*qan*) *inglisman* / *metekunki* '(Thou) meddlest with English!'

(*noqa*) *qanwan* / *řisah* '(I) will go with thee'

(Direct object / verb)

(*misitoqa*) *řopata* / *wihč'urparimusqa* '(The kitten) threw the clothes away'

(Attribute / objective constitute)

kliseñosmanta (*gobyerno*) *hal̄p'ata* *qečun* '(The government) took land away from the people of Cliza'

(Compound predicate)

(*paykuna*) *teatrusmampis* *řenqanku* *telebisyonta* *řantikonqanku* '(They) will go to the theatre and buy television'

6.3 *Elements that occur as direct objects.* Substantives, substantive phrases, and clauses occur as direct objects. They always show inflection for accusative.

Examples:

Noun: t'antata (řuwanku) 'They baked) bread'; adjective: (*mana* *řikunču*) *sul̄k'ata* '(She didn't see) the youngest'; determiner: *čayta* (*apay*) '(Take) that'; indefinite-interrogative: *imatačá* (*uhyačiwarqa*) '(I) wonder what (she made me drink)'; personal pronoun: *payta* (*apamuway*) '(Bring) him (to me)'; proper noun: *hwanta* (*řikorqayku*) '(We saw) John'

Substantive phrases built by the attributive and additive constructions discussed earlier (5.3, 5.4) occur as direct objects. There are no examples of phrases built by alternative or appositive constructions. This may be accidental. Clauses containing forms derived by *-y*, *-na*, and *-sqa* as centers occur as direct objects. Examples are given in 7.521.

6.4 *Attributes.*

6.41 *Elements that occur as predicate attributes.* Uninflected substantives and substantive phrases occur as predicate attributes.

Examples:

Noun: *intendente* (*kani*) '(I am) the constable'; adjective: *onqosqas* (*kanku*) '(They are) sick'; proper noun: (*purehqa*) *fransisku* (*kanman*) '(The one who is walking over there is probably) Francisco'

Personal pronouns, indefinite-interrogatives, and determiners never occur as predicate attributes. Most of the substantive phrases built by attributive constructions occur as predicate attributes; a substantive phrase built by an indefinite-interrogative and a substantive cannot occur as a predicate attribute. No examples of substantive phrases built by alternative or appositive constructions were found. This is believed to be accidental.

6.42 *Elements that function as attributes to verbs.* These are substantives and substantive phrases which generally show inflection for relation, and particles.

6.43 *Elements that function as clause attributes.* The following elements have been found to occur as clause attributes: substantive and substantive phrases generally inflected for relation, and particles. The most frequent inflected forms are *čaymantá* 'then', *čayrayku* 'for that reason', *čayri* 'there', *hinamanta* 'that way' and phrases referring to time such as *kinsa diata* 'for three days'. Non-inflected forms are also phrases referring to time such as *segundo dia* 'the second day', *kay iskay watаña* 'these two years', the substantive *kunan* 'now' which is very frequent, the particles *ñaq"as* 'probably', *iča* 'perhaps', and the loans *de řepente* 'probably', *abeses* 'sometimes', *řesyén entós* 'just then', and *entós* 'then' which is as frequent as *čaymantá*. *čaymantá*, *čayrayku*, *iča*, and *entós* usually occur at the beginning of sentences. The following particles usually occur at the end: *ari*, *i*, *a*, and *ičarí*. *ari* may interrupt a sentence. *ari* is roughly translated as 'well'; *i*, *a*, and *ičarí* are kinds of tag questions; *ičarí* is emphatic and less frequent than *a* and *i*, which are very common, and may occur together. *a*, *i*, and *ičarí* occur with raising intonation. Examples of sentences containing containing clause attributes:

čaymantá (*waqaspa čikito řisqa*) 'Then (crying, the boy went)'

kay iskay wataña (*noqa čimpapi tiyakuni*) '(I've been living in Chimba) for two years'

kunan (*qan čayta aparinki*) 'Now (thou wilt take this)'

entós (*kosečata qal̄arina tiyan*) 'Then (the harvest has to be begun)' (*čayrayku* *aq"ata* *tomanayki*) *ari* (*sumah* *yuyaspa*) 'Well (for that reason thou shouldst drink chicha thinking well)'

(čaymanqa čayaykuyku) ari 'Well, (we got to that place)'

(*umaman* *čayahtenqa* *imatapis* *řuwaƚančah* *noqančahqa*) *a* '(When it goes to our head we do anything). Don't we?'

(*kay* *kasarakohkunaqa* *tataƚankuhpapičá* *kawsakonqanku*) *i* '(These people who are getting married will live at their parents). Right?'

(*warminwan* *iskayninku* *čaywanqa* *sumah* *milagrosos* *kankuman*) *ičarí* '(With his wife they would both be miraculous indeed). Wouldn't they?'

(*manatah* *noqapis* *yuyarpakuniču*) *a* *i* '(And I didn't remember either). Did I?'

CHAPTER 7: CLAUSES

In this chapter we shall discuss the structure of clauses which may be sentences consisting only of one clause, clauses which are ICs in compound sentences, main clauses, and secondary clauses. Sentences consisting only of one clause are simple sentences. These are equational or narrative.

7.1. *Equational sentences*. Equational sentences are of two types: verbless sentences and sentences containing the verb *ka-* 'be'.

7.11. *Verbless equational sentences*. Examples of this type of sentence are: *tukuy ima sumah* 'All are good' and *čaypis hina* 'That is this way'. It is possible to find similar sentences which apparently have the same meaning and which contain the verb *ka-* 'be': *tukuy ima sumah kanku*; *čaypis hina kašan*. Verbless sentences have as ICs a subject and a predicate attribute. The subject is often marked by the topic marker -*qa*. If the topic marker does not occur, then the first term of the sentence is the subject. In the sentences *kay weraqoča amiguy* 'This gentleman is my friend', the first term of the equivalence is the subject. In the sentence *čayqa pasantehpa wasin* 'That is the steward's house', -*qa* marks *čay* 'that' as the subject. In the sentence *ařeglasqa antis kapil̃aqa* 'The chapel is rather well kept',

-*qa* marks *kapil̄a* 'chapel' as the subject. Substantives which are uninflected may be considered verbless sentences with no overt subject. Example: *wasiyoh* 'It is the landlord'. Examples showing the IC's of verbless equational sentences:

(Substantive / substantive)

ačay / *usu* 'That is the custom.'

pitah / *čay* 'Who is that?'

(Substantive / substantive phrase)

čay / *interon* *kampesinos* *afanniykoqa* 'That is the earnest wish of all us peasant comrades'.

(Substantive phrase / substantive phrase)

mana *hinal̄ aču* / *kay* *q'aymaqa* 'This caima is not just like that.'

dyuspa *bendisyonnin* / *sumah* *yakunčahqa* 'Our good water is God's blessing'.

7.12. *Equational sentences with ka-*: These sentences may or may not have a separate word subject. If one is present, it occurs first. The predicate attribute is uninflected and agrees with the subject in number. The connective verb *ka-* is usually the last word in the sentence. If there is a separate word subject, the verb agrees with it in person and number. Examples with no separate word subject:

(Substantive)

sumah / kasqa 'It was good!'

musp"asqaña / kani 'I am confused now'

(Substantive phrase)

sumah pača / kasqa 'It was really good!'

sumah onqosqañatah / kasarqa 'She was already very sick.'

Examples with separate word subject:

(Substantive / substantive)

hal̃p'a / duruyah / kasqa 'The land was dry.'

(Substantive / substantive phrase)

noqaqa / sapan warmi / kani 'I am a woman living alone.'

qampuni / aswan k'ača / kanki. 'Thou art the most beautiful.'

(Substantive phrase / substantive)

kay hina k'ačita / papitayki / kasasqa 'Thy potatoes were really beautiful.'

(Substantive phrase / substantive phrase)

kay řunas / karqanku / čay q"aparehkuna 'These men were those who shouted.'

čiri lado řunasqa / mančay sumah řunas / karqanku 'The men of the cold region were very good men.'

7.2. *Narrative sentences*. Narrative sentences are of two types: (1) Sentences consisting of a verb with or without attributive elements (2) Sentences which are objective constitutes with or without attributive elements. Both types may or may not have a separate word subject.

Examples of type one without separate word subjects:

(Verb)

řísunmanču 'Shall we go?'

puriykačarikusqal̄ani 'I am just strolling.'

(Verb / attribute)

čayasančahña / *wasiman* 'We are approaching the house.'

samarisah / *kay* *aq"etawan* 'We will rest with this little chicha.'

(Attribute / verb)

sumah / *tokayku* 'We play well.'

kay *wakawanrah* / *kačun* 'Let it be with this cow first.'

Examples of type one including a separate word subject:

(Subject / predicate)

sul̄k'itu / *čayasqa* 'The youngest arrived.'

dyus / *pagarapusonqa* 'May God repay each one of you.'

(Predicate / subject)

tril̄akun / *trigoqa* 'The wheat is threshed.'

hap'ičikun / uh suwa 'A thief let himself be caught.'

(Subject / predicate consisting of verb plus attributive elements; the verb, nasiykuwarqa occurs after the attributive substantive phrase)

kurah wawayqa / tarpu kikimpi nasiykuwarqa 'My eldest son was born to me in the field itself.'

(Subject / predicate consisting of verb plus attributive elements; the verb, čayamorqani, occurs before the attributive substantive phrase)

noqa / čayamorqani este dia martes 'I arrive this Tuesday.'

(Predicate consisting of attributive and verb / subject)

manaña řikukusqañaču / yanqa 'The road couldn't be seen.'

čaypah nestakun / hose 'For that a sickle is necessary.'

Examples of type (2) without separate word subjects:

(Verb / direct object which is a substantive)

wañučinmanču / čaytaqa 'Would that die?'

(Verb / direct object which is a substantive phrase)

řehsinkičahču / aq"a wasita 'Do ye know a chicha place?'

(Direct object which is a substantive / verb)

uhta / nisqayki 'I'll tell thee something.'

(Direct object which is a substantive phrase / verb)

uh č"ikatawan / munariwahču 'Wouldst thou like a little bit more?'

(Attribute, verb / direct object which is a substantive phrase)

sumah tapayčah / čay tomata 'Cover that outlet well.'

(Direct object which is a substantive phrase / attribute, verb)

čaytaqa / k"učispahpis čihl̄arpariy 'Sort that out for the pigs.'

kay pučohtaqa / qayal̄aña tukusah 'I'll finish that which is left over tomorrow.'

Examples with separate word subjects:

(Subject / objective constitute)

noqa / č'arkita apampusah 'I will bring him dry beef.'

kay simón / čupán k"učučun 'Let Simon out its tail.'

(Objective constitute / subject)

q"arisituta munašan / tatanqa 'Her father wanted a little boy.'

(Subject / attribute, objective constitute)

noqa / q'aya wal̄pitata apampusah 'I'll bring him a small hen tomorrow.'

gobyerno / *kliseñosmanta* *hal̄p'ata* *qečun* 'The government took land from the people of Cliza.'

7.3. Clauses which are ICs of compound sentences. These clauses are similar in structure to simple sentences and do not require separate treatment. Examples will be given in 8.1.

7.4. Independent clauses. Independent clauses have a structure similar to that of sentences. Simple narrative clauses are the most frequent, but some compound, complex, and equivalence clauses have been found functioning as independent clauses. Simple narrative clauses will now be illustrated. Subordinate clauses are given in parentheses.

(Verb)

(*t"amaykačaspa*) *purisqa* 'He was walking along (stumbling).'

(*mik"ohtiy* *kama*) *řiporqa* '(After I ate) he left'

(*noqa* *amansapusayki*) *nisqa* '(I'll tame it for thee) he said.'

(Verb / attribute)

(*kutirimpuspaña* *kaypi*) *onqoykun* / *ospitalpi* '(Coming back here,) he got sick in the hospital.'

(Attribute / verb)

(*hina* *kahtenqa*) *usqayl̄ata* / *řisah* '(If it is that way,) I'll go quickly.'

(suwata hap'iytawanqa) usqayl̄ata / puričini '(As soon as I caught the thief, I made him go fast.'

(Subject / verb)

(oq"ariytawan kamaqa) qan / tokarinki '(As soon as thou pickest it up) thou wilt play it.'

(Verb / subject)

(yanapawayčah yanapaqayčah nispa) q"aparisqa / pay '(Help me! Help me!) he shouted.'

(Subject / attribute, verb)

(čay pasapohtin kamatah) santu kikin / čay pelón pataman wihč'uykapun '(When that is done) the saint himself is thrown on top of the hay.'

(Verb / direct object)

(ahinata paykunawan unayta l̄ank'aspa) řehserqani / paykunah kawsayninkuta '(Thus working with them a long time) I learned about their lives.'

(Direct object / verb)

(tata kura čayamohtin) fyestá / ruwankičah '(When the priest arrives) ye will hold the fiesta.'

(Objective constitute / subject)

(čahrapičá yanapanampah) q"arisituta munašan / tatanqa 'His father wants a boy (so he will help him in the field).'

(Subject / objective constitute)

(*yačayniykičahpi yanapariyl̄ata munaspatah*) *noqapis* / *tukuy kaykunata řuwaripuykičah* '(Wanting to help you in your learning,) I have done all these things for you.'

(Attribute / objective constitute)

(*kay hina karupi kawsaspaqa*) *manačá iskayl̄apis qankunamanta* / *aq"a wasita řehsinkičahču* '(Living so far away), probably not even two of you know a chicha tavern.'

(Subject / objective constitute, attribute)

(*nehtin*) *misitoqa* / *tanqaykusqa řeysitutaqa lagunaman* '(When he said it,) the kitten pushed the little prince into the lagoon.'

Independent clauses which have the structure of complex and compound sentences will be illustrated in 8.2 and 8.3. The following sentence is an example of an equivalence clause functioning as a main clause: (*čaywan hina mantiyenespaqa*) *lastima t"antita č'iya uma řeysitoqa kasqa* '(When he was thus supporting him with that) the lousy headed prince was all in tatters.' *lastima t"antita* is the predicate attribute, *č'iya uma řeysitoqa* is the subject, *kasqa* is the connective verb.

7.5. *Secondary clauses*. Secondary clauses are of two kinds: *subordinate clauses* which are attributive to the main clause and clauses which are direct objects, direct quotes, or subjects. Subordinate clauses will be discussed first.

7.51. Subordinate clauses. There are two main types of subordinate clauses: those which contain special forms as center and those which do not. The first can be classified according to the form occurring as center. Two of these forms occur with the verbal suffixes -hti and -spa which have no other function. The remaining clause types have forms with the suffixes -y, -h, -na or -sqa as centers. These suffixes are substantive deriving suffixes. Forms containing them also occur with clearly substantival functions. When they occur as centers of subordinate clauses they still behave as substantives morphologically in that they occur with substantival suffixes. Forms with -sqa, -na, and -y occur with relationals, -na and -sqa forms add the allomorphs of the personal suffixes which occur with substantives. This is also true of forms where the suffix -hti occurs. Syntactically, however, the forms containing the derivative suffixes behave as verbs in that they can take direct objects and will be called verbals when they occur as centers of secondary clauses.

The actor of a subordinate clause is either the same as the actor of the main clause or a different one. Subordinate clauses in which the actor is the same do not have a subject. The suffixes -spa, -h, and -y occur in these clauses. Those in which the actor is different have a subject which may or may not be a separate word. -*hti*, -*sqa*, and -*na* occur in these clauses.

7.511. Clauses with special forms as centers.

7.5111. Clauses with no subject.

7.51111. *spa-clauses*. The action of the verb of the dependent clause is simultaneous or directly precedes that of the main clause and may continue while the action of the verb in the main clause is going on. The subject of both clauses is always the same. In the following examples the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is simultaneous to the action of the verb in the main clause. The main clause is in parentheses: *čankaykačaspaIaña* (*purisqankeqa*) '(There goest thou) stumbling already.'; *čay hina aq"amanta uyarispa* (*samarisah*) '(I'll rest) drinking a little of that chicha.'; *parlanarikuspa* (*řehsinakúy atinčah*) '(We can know one another) by talking to one another.' In the sentence *hinapí čay pitaIawantah hap'ispa* (*tawa uk"umanta watasqataqa apamusqanku asyenda wasiman*) 'And so holding him with a cord between the four men (they brought him to the hacienda's house.)' the action of the verb in the subordinate clause precedes that of the main clause, but it continues throughout.

Additional examples showing the structure of *spa*-clauses:

(Verb)

yaykusqaspa (*hwanta* *řikorqani*) 'Upon entering, (We saw John.)'

mačaykuspa (*manan* *čayl̄ataču* *parlani* *asta* *inglestapis* *tukuy* *imatapis* *parlal̄anipuni* *noqaqa*) 'When I get drunk (I not only speak that, I even speak English and everything.)'

(Attribute / verb)

wah *l̄ahtapi* / *kaspaqa* (*aq"atačá* *watukunki*) 'Being from another town (thou probably missest chicha.)'

řumi *mayuman* / *čayakuspa* (*kuna* *santusah* *aq"a* *wasimpi* *samarisah* 'Upon getting to Rumi Mayo (I'll rest at Comadre Santusa's chicha tavern.'

Verb / direct object)

čayta / *nispal̄a* (*qanqa* *musp"arqočíy* *munasqawanki*) 'Saying that (thou just wantest to make me dizzy.)'

kunan *waynakunata* / *řikuspal̄a* (*asikul̄aniña*) 'Watching today's young men, (I laugh.)'

7.51112. *ytawan-clauses*. The action of the dependent clause takes place before the action of the verb in the main clause. The translation is 'as soon as'. These sentences may or may not occur with the marker *kama*. The following examples illustrate the structure of these clauses.

(Verbal)

montonaykutawantah (*řesyén* *č'al̃ankuta* *řuwanku*)
'After they pile it up (they begin toasting.)'

(Attribute / verbal)

uh *lagunaman* / *čayaytawan* *kamaqa* (*kaypi* *bañarqokuy* *sumahta* *nispa* *nisqa*) 'As soon as he arrived at the lagoon (he said: "Bathe well here.")'

(Direct object / verbal)

suwata / *hap'iytawanqa* (*usqayl̃ata* *puričini*)
'Once I caught the thief (I made him walk fast.)'

tumpata *qolqé* / *rehsiriytawan* *kama* (*aq"a* *wasiman* *čeqanta* *puriponqa*) 'As soon as he gets a little money (he will go straight to the chicha tavern.)'

(Attribute / objective constitute)

uh *kanastitapi* / *yut"usta* *ašk"ata* *aperqoytawanqa* (*řeypaman* *kačaykusqa*) 'After getting many pidgeons in a basket (he went down to the king's.)'

lagunaman / *řeysituta* *tanqaykuytawan* (*misitoqa* *řopata* *wihč'urparimusqa*) 'As soon as he pushed the little prince into the lagoon (the kitten threw the clothes away.)'

7.51113. *h-clauses*. These clauses express purpose. The actor is always the same as that of the main clause.

Verbs occurring in the main clause are usually verbs of motion. Examples showing the structure of these clauses:

(Verbal)

q''awareh (*hamuni*) '(I came) to look'

(Verbal / attribute; the subordinate clause is discontenuous)

tapureh (*hamuni*) *wánuku* *řunasmanta* '(I came) to ask about the people of Huanuco.'

(Direct object / verbal)

q'epita / *apakapoh* (*hamuni*) '(I came) to take the bundle away.'

l̄ant'á / *pal̄akoh* (*řisqa*) 'He went) to pick up fire wood.'

7.5112. *Clauses which have a subject*.

7.51121. *hti-clauses*. The action of the verb with -*hti* usually precedes the action of the main verb. The translation is 'if', or 'when'; it is 'as soon as' if the marker *kama* occurs. In a few instances the action of the verb with -*hti* is simultaneous to the action of the main verb. The actor of the subordinate clause is different from the one in the main clause. Examples: *munahtiyki* (*astawampis* *čural̄asun*) 'If thou wantest (we will put more)'; *sibilisasyón* *astawan* *kahtenqa* (*manaña* *ni* *ima* *problema* *kanqaču* *gobyernopah* *ni* *pweblopah*) 'When there is more civilization (there won't be any problem for the government or for the people.)'; *poqohtin* *kamari* (*imatá* *řuwankičah*)

'And as soon as it produces (what do ye do?)' *řisahtiya* (*wačimuwan*) '(He threw a rock at me) while I was going along.'

Additional examples showing the structure of *hti*-clauses:

(Verb)

mik"ohtiy kama (*řiporqa*) 'As soon as I ate (he left.)'

pagahtinkoqa (*noqapis l̄ank'ayman*) 'If they paid, (I would also work.)'

(Subject / prėdicate)

banda / *čayamohtin* (*tusuyku*) 'When the band arrives, (we dance.)'

(Attribute / verb)

mana / *čayamohtintahri* (*mančayta waqah kasqa řeysitu*) 'And when he didn't arrive, (the little prince cried a lot.)'

hina / *kahtenqa* (*usqayl̄ata řisah*) 'If it is that way (I'll go fast.)'

(Direct object / verb)

čayta / *řuwahtiy kama* (*řiporqa*) 'After I did that, (he left.)'

(Predicate which is an objective constitute / subject)

noqata tratarpawahtin / *liberay* (*noqa nini klaro imanasahñatahri*) 'When my Elvira scolded me (I said: "Sure what can I do?")'

7.51122. *sqamanta-clauses*. The actor of these clauses is different from the one in the main clause and the subject can be a separate word. The translation is 'as soon as'. These clauses are not very frequent. Examples: *mik"usqaymantaña* (*pay* *Īank'an*) 'As soon as I ate (he worked); *qan* *tukuykusqan* *kimantaña* (*čayamun* *pedro*) 'As soon as thou finishedst (Peter arrived)'.

7.51123. *sqarayku-clauses*. These clauses are not very common. The actor is different from the actor in the main clause. The meaning is 'because of': *mančay* *ašk"a* *aq"a* *wasis* *miraykusqankurayku* (*gobyerno* *řunakuna* *impwestos* *čuraykučinku* 'Since many chicha taverns sprang up (government officials levied taxes)'; (*čay* *misitutahri*) *mana* *ambisyosos* *kasqanrayku* (*dyusninčah* *kačamorqa*) '(God sent that kitten) because he was not ambitious.' 'he', in context refers to the prince who is the hero of the story, the sentence is not ambiguous in Quechua; the main clause is discontinuous, the subject is *dyusninčah*, the verb is *kačamorqa* and the direct object is *čay* *misitutahri*.

7.51124. *napah-clauses*. These clauses are very frequent. They express purpose. The actor is usually different from the one in the main clause: (*pero* *řeforma* *agraryaqa*) *qankuna* *sumah* *kawsanaykičahpah* (*kasqa*) '(But the agrarian reform as) for you to live well'. *kasqa*, the verb in the main clause, is discontinuous in this example.

Additional examples showing the structure of these clauses:

(Verbal)

(*hamuni*) *mik"unampah* '(I came) so that he could eat.'

(Attribute / verbal)

(*čaymantaqa* *čay* *kawsa* *tiyan*) *noqawan* / *hap'inankunawankupah* '(That is why there is a cause) for them to be against me.'

(*p"ahčapi* *noqaykoqa* *estudyamuyku*) *čaypi* / *tokanaykupahqa* '(We study at the waterfall) in order to play there.'

(Verbal / direct object)

(*nesital̄aykutah* *tehnikusta*) *čay* *hal̄p'ata* / *analisanankupah* '(We need technicians) in order for them to analyze the land.'

(Subject / predicate)

(*yanapawayku*) *noqayku* / *l̄ank'anaykupah* '(Help us) so that we will work.'

(Subject / predicate which consists of attributive elements and verbal)

(*qankunamantah* *čay* *řunakuna* *tukuy* *imayna* *simismanta* *yačayta* *qosunkičah*) *uh* *řuna* / *wah* *řunah* *kawsayninmanta* *yačanampah* '(And those men teach you all kinds of languages) so that a man will know about the life of another man.'

(Equivalence clause consisting of subject, predicate attribute and connective verb)

(*kunanqa* *astawan* *sumahta* *trabahasqayku*) *řeforma agrarya* / *sumah* *profundisasqa* / *kanampah* '(Now we will work better) so that the agrarian reform will penetrate deeply'. Lit. 'will be well deep'.

7.51125. *na-clauses*. These clauses occur with the marker *kama* and sometimes with the loan *astake* 'until' as well. The action of the verb in the main clause continues until the action of the verbal in the dependent clause interrupts it: (*kaypi* *q"epanki*) *pay* *čayamunan* *kama* '(Thou wilt stay here) until he comes.'; (*pahawan* *q'ala* *p'ampaykapunku*) *astake* *pay* *heq'eqanan* *kama* '(They bury him completely with hay) until he chokes'.

7.512. *Clauses with no special forms as centers*. Subordinate clauses which have no special forms as centers include *čay* clauses and a number of residual types.

7.5121. *čay-clauses*. These clauses have a structure similar to that of simple narrative sentences, but the predicate always has a future or a conditional morpheme. čay-clauses which are contrary to fact contain an inflectional phrase with *karqa*. The marker *čay* occurs either with the independent suffix -*qa*, topic marker, or the intensive independent suffix -*ri*; *čayqa* is more frequent than *čayri*. Sometimes the loan word *si* occurs in the *čay* clause; it has no function since the meaning of the sentences would be the same without it. Examples:

(Verb)

yačakul̄asah *čayri* (*ičas* *q"epakusqayman*) 'If I get accustomed, (I might stay.)'

(Inflectional phrase)

paramunman *karqa* *čayqa* (*ismunkunman* *karqa*) 'If it had rained (it would have rotted.)'

(Attribute / verb)

mana / *paramonqa* *čayqa* (*řisun*) 'If it doesn't rain (we'll go.)'

si *mana* / *tarisah* *čayri* (*entós* *aysarimusqaykičah*) 'If I don't find any (I will pull it for you.)'

(Direct object / verb)

si *qorita* / *tarisah* *čayqa* (*t"al̄arimusqaykičah*) 'If I find gold (I will shake it for you.)'

(Subject / predicate)

tatayki / *hamonqa* *čayqa* (*mik"usun*) 'If your father comes (we'll eat.)'

qolqeyčus / *kanman* *čayqa* (*řantirpariyman*) 'If I had money, (I would buy it)' Lit. 'if my money were'.

7.5122. Residual subordinate clauses. These clauses are similar to sentences in structure, the center is any verb, but a loan word serves as a subordinator. The sentence *kwando* *q"awarisqankoqa* *čimpa* *ladupeqa* (*mana* *supaykunasču* *kasoa* *sinuri* *benados* *kasqa*) 'When they looked at the opposite side (there hadn't been any devils, but deer)', shows the subordinator *kwando*. The most frequent manner of expressing the meaning of this clause would have been with the suffix -*hti*. In the sentence: *si* *pičus* *čayta* *apamuwahqa* (*kay* *enterituta* *hap'inkičah* 'If someone brought that (ye would get all this)' we find the subordinator *si* which also occurs optionally in *čay* clauses. Here *si* takes over the function of *čay*; -*qa*, the topic marker which would have occurred with *čay* is added to the verb of the subordinate clause. The following sentence is an example of the subordinator *porke* which is fairly frequent: (*klaru* *čay* *kostumbresniykoqa* *kakušampuni*) *porke* *čayqa* *má* *wañupunču* *a* '(Sure, those customs of ours remain) because that hasn't died.'

7.52. *Secondary clauses which are not attributive*. These are clauses which function as direct objects, clauses which are direct quotes, and clauses which function as subjects.

7.521. *Clauses which are direct objects*. These clauses contain a verbal with the derivative suffixes -*y*, -*na* or -*sqa*. The accusative suffix -*ta* is added to it.

7.5211. *yta-clauses*. These clauses are the objects of a limited class of verbs such as *muna*- 'want'. They cannot contain a subject.

Examples showing the structure of these clauses:

(Verbal)

mik"uyta (*munani*) '(I want) to eat'

(Attribute / verbal)

q"el̄a *řunaman* / *tukupúy* (*munasqanki*) '(Thou wantest) to become a lazy man.'

kanakuman / *řiy* (*munawahču*) '(Dost thou want) to go to the bonfire?'

(Direct object / verbal)

qolqeta / *tantakúy* (*yačankičah*) '(Ye know how) to collect money.'

(*pitah* *yanapasunki*) *čayta* / *řuwayta* '(Who helped thee) do that?'

(Attribute / objective constitute)

iskay *sentabusl̄aykičahwan* / *hatun* *tutamata* *uhyarqokúy* (*atiwančah*) 'With two of your cents only (one could) drink a large gourd.'

(*manatah* *yačasqaniču*) *mayqenmančus* / *lata* *kalangá* *wark"uyta* '(And I don't know) on which one to hang the tin bell.'

7.5212. *nata-clauses*. These clauses are similar to *yta*-clauses, but they are less frequent. They contain a subject: *mik"unanta* (*munani*) '(I want) him to eat'; *pay* *řinanta* (*munani*) '(I want) him to go'.

7.5213. *sqata-clauses*. These clauses are objects of a limited class of verbs such as *yača-* 'know'. Examples:

(Verbal)

(*yačani*) *mik"usqanta* '(I know) he ate.'

(Attribute / verbal)

(*mana noqa yačaniču*) *maypičus* / *nasikusqaykutapis* '(I don't know) where we were born.'

(Subject / predicate)

(*kreeyku*) *tukuy kompañeros kampesinos* / *sayasqankuta* '(We believe) all peasant comrades are waiting.'

Indirect quotations take the form of *sqata*-clauses: (*niwanku deke noqaqa wah yanta purisqayta* '(They told me) that I was walking on another road'.

7.522. *Direct quotes*. These clauses cannot be considered direct objects since they have the internal structure of an independent clause; no accusative suffix is ever present. Quotes may be unmarked or they may contain the marker *nispa* 'saying'. One example with *nisqa* 'he said' occurring at the end of the quote the same way *nispa* does, aside from its accurrence as the main verb in the sentence, was found. The following sentences illustrate unmarked quotes: *pero imaynatá noqa kay trasaywan řisah* (*nisqa*) 'But how am I going to go looking like this, (he said)'; *imatá munanki q"epayta q"epaypi imatá munaki řiy wah laduman řiy* (*nisqa*) 'What dost thou want after me, following me, what dost thou want? Go some place else, go (he said).' The following sentences illustrate quotes marked by *nispa*: *řoska parte qan kanki nispa* (*niwanku noqataqa*) 'Thou art on the side of the conspiracy (they told me); (*pedrotah hwanman nisqa*) *qan mayl̄anki nispa* '(And Peter said to John) thou wilt wash.' *yanapawayčah yanapawayčah nispa* (*q"aparisqa payqa*) 'Help me! Help me! (he shouted).' The following sentence is the only example of a direct quote marked by *nisqa*. Since the quote is in Spanish and is fairly long, the speaker may have been confused and actually may have repeated the main verb. If such was the case, then quotes can only be marked by *nispa*: (*čay tokahtintah čay kañawekitapeqa nisqa*) *No me toques no me atoques* (*sic*) *mis hermanos me mataron por un* (*sic*) *flor de Luribay nisqa* 'And when he had played it, that one inside the reed said: "Don't play me, my brothers killed me because of a flower from Luribay."'

Additional examples showing the structure of these clauses:

(Verb)

(*kunan maman doña karmensaqa nisqa*) *imanasuntahri* '(Now his mother Doña Carmen said:) "What shall we do?"'

(Attribute / verb)

bañu uk"upi / *waqašasqa* (*nin*) '(It is said) he cried in the bath.'

(Direct object / verb)

kayta / *mik"uy* (*nisqa*) '"Eat this", (he said)'

(Attribute / objective constitute)

(*wakintah* *ninku*) *čay* *řuna* *wirawan* / *belás* *řuwankumansis* '(Others say:) "With that human grease he would make himself candles."'

(Subject / predicate)

ñoqa / *amansapusayki* (*nisqa*) '"I'll tame it for thee" (he said.)'

(Subject / objective constitute)

(*čaymantaqa* *kurah* *kah* *nisqa* *sul̄k'a* *kahman*) *qan* / *tukuy* *imatá* *aparimuwanki* *nispa* '(Then the oldest said to the youngest:) "Thou wilt bring me every little thing."'

7.523. *Clauses which are subjects*. These clauses contain a verbal with -*na*. The verb in the main clause is *tiya*- 'be, exist' or *ka*- 'be' in the third person singular. The meaning is one of obligation: *qan* *ašq"ata* *apamunayki* *tiyan* 'Thou hast a lot to bring.' *apamunayki* *tiyan* cannot be considered a verbal phrase with *tiyan* as the head because if *tiyan* occurred alone it could not take a direct object. On the other hand *apamunayki* could not have a subject if it occurred alone.

Additional examples:

muyučinanku *tiyan* 'They have to make him turn.'

eskwelamampis *řinañan* *tiyan* 'He has to go to school already.'

mesayta apamunayki kasqa 'Thou hast to bring my table.'

triguyohqa aq"ata ruwanan tiyan 'The wheat owner has to make chicha.'

CHAPTER 8: SENTENCES

Mayor sentences in Cochabamba Quechua are simple compound, complex, or compound complex. Simple sentences have already been discussed in 7.1 and 7.2.

8.1 *Compound sentences*. Compound sentences have two or more constituents standing in a coordinate construction with one another. Each constituent is a clause similar to a simple sentence in its structure. The coordination is marked by the suffix -*tah* or by the loan words *i* 'and', *sinu* 'but', or *pero* 'but'. The construction may also be unmarked. The following types of sentences were found: (1) Both ICs consist of a verb with or without a separate word subject, with or without attributive elements. (2) One or both of the constituents is an objective constitute. (3) One of the constituents is an equivalence clause. (4) The coordination consists of three or more clauses.

Examples of type (1)

(Verb / verb)

tiyarikuyčah / *sirbiykurikuyča* 'Sit down please, serve thyselves please'.

(Attribute, verb / attribute, verb)

eraman *čurakun* / *i* / *čaypi* *tril̃akun* 'It is placed in the threshing field and there it is threshed'.

(Subject, verb / verb)

qankuna *tususarqankičah* / *takisqarqayku* 'You were dancing and we were singing'.

(Attribute, verb / discontinuous subject, verb: *wihč'ukul̃asqankutah*)

l̃oqe *laduman* *wihč'urparikusqa* / *uhkunatah* *wihč'ukul̃asqankutah* *kasi* *wañusqaspuni*. 'He had thrown himself down to the left side and the others had thrown themselves down also, half dead'.

(Attribute, verb / predicate constitute; *sul̃k'itutah* is the subject, *kikin* *yanta* is a substantive phrase attributive to the verb *kutimpusqa*)

maymančá *čayanku* / *sul̃k'itutah* *kutimpusqa* *kikin* *yanta* 'I wonder where they arrive and the youngest one returned by the same road'.

(Predicate constitute: the substantive phrase *ni* *ima* *aqoyraki* is the subject; the negative particle *aman* is discontinuous and attributive to the verb *hamučunču*. / Predicate constitute: the subject is *wañučinakus*; *aman* is discontinuous and attributive to the verb *čayamučunkuču*)

aman *ni* *ima* *aqoyraki* *hamučunču* / *aman* *wañučinakus* *čayamučunkuču* 'May no misfortune come, may no killings arrive!'

Examples of type (2)

(Verb / objective constitute)

tokal̄ayku / *peru* / *mana* *yačaykuču* *sutinta* 'We just play but we don't know its name'

(Objective constitue / attribute, verb)

enkarguyta *ama* *qonqankiču* / *komadreman* *wil̄aripuwankipuni* 'Thou wilt not forget my errand thou wilt let the comadre know'.

(Attribute, verb / objective constitute)

ač"aywan *řut"unčah* / *i* / *kabil̄asta* *ruwančah* 'We cut it down with that and we make the sheaves'.

(Predicate constitute with subject first / attribute, objective constitute)

kompañeros *elihiwarqanku* / *i* / *masaymanta* elihiwarqanku noqataqa 'The comrades elected me and from my group they elected me'.

(Objective constitute, attribute / predicate constitute: attribute, subject, verb)

sufrimyentota *qowan* *peor* *ke* *patroneswan* *k"uska* / *i* / *aswan* *peortarah* *noqa* *antis* *sufrini* 'It only makes me suffer in a worse way than with the bosses and I suffer in a worse way.'

Examples of type (3)

(Verb, attribute / verbless equivalence clause)

kasqan čaynehpi / *sutintah q'awa wič'inka*
It is there and its name is *q'awa wič'inka*'
(Lit. 'naked belly').

(Equivalence clause with verb / predicate constitute: the ICs are the subject *noqaykupis* and the objective constitute *sigiykutah čay kikinta*)

kostumbrenko ačayčá kanman / *i* / *noqaykupis sigiykutah čay kikinta* 'Their custom would be that and we follow the same thing'.

Example of type (4)

(Objective constitute / predicate constitute / predicate constitute / attribute, verb)

ačayrayku aq"ata řuwanku / *i* / *čaywanqa hamunku animalesniyoh* / *i* / *čaypi asta kinse asta beynte animales tantakunku* / *i* / *čaywan tril̃anku* 'On account of that they make chicha and with that the owners of horses come and there even fifteen even twenty horses are gathered and with that they thresh'.

In the example above the first clause consists of the attribute *ačayrayku* and the objective constitute *aq"ata řuwanku*; the second clause consists of an attribute and a predicate constitute, the subject is *animalesniyoh*. The third clause consists of an attribute and a predicate constitute; the subject is a substantive phrase which is a coordination; *tantakunku* is the verb.

8.2 *Complex sentences*. Complex sentences are of two main types: (1) Sentences consisting of a clause and a clause attribute and (2) sentences consisting of a main clause and a secondary clause.

Clause attributes may be uninflected or inflected for relation. Examples of complex sentences containing a clause attribute which is not marked by a relational suffix follow. The attribute precedes the clause:

segundo *dia* / *čuranki* *uh* *řehatawan* 'The second day thou wilt cut one furrow'.

čay *dos* *de* *agosto* *dia* / *noqaykupah* *liberasyón* *indyuspa* *čayamun* 'On August 2nd the liberation of the Indian arrives for us'.

abesesqa / *yana* *punčuyoh* *indyu* *hinal̄atah* *q"arisiri* *řik"urimun* 'Sometimes with a black poncho, like an indian, the monster appears'.

Examples of clauses modified by substantives inflected for relation or by substantive phrases where the head is inflected for relation follow. The relational suffix illustrated is given in parentheses. No examples were found for -*man* or -*wan*.

(-*ta*)

matrimonyo *kasqa* *čaypi* / *kinsa* *diata* 'There was a wedding there for three days'.

(-pi)

q"epampitah / klisamanta hulyán čabes uyaričil̃anqatah siminta 'And then Julián Chaves will also make his voice heard from Cliza'.

(-manta)

čaymantaqa / q'ayantin paqarin las tres de la mañanata sayaričisqa huanitutaqa 'Then the next morning at three o'clock he made Johnny get up'.

(-pah)

ačaypahtah / pičus čay triguyohqa aq"ata řuwanan tiyan 'And for that the wheat owner has to make chicha'.

(-rayku)

ačayrayku / dyusninčah noqatá kačamuwarqa 'Because of that our God sent me'.

Sentences consisting of a main clause and a secondary clause. These sentences are divided into two main groups (1) those where the secondary clause is a subordinate clause attributive to the main clause and (2) those where a secondary clause its a direct object, a direct quote, or a subject. Examples of most of these sentences have already been given in 7.51 and 7.52. There remains to illustrate complex sentences where the main clause is itself complex:

(hti-clause / main clause consisting of a main clause and a spa-clause) *wayra kahtenqa* / *siginku wayračispa* 'If there is wind, they continue throwing it'.

(napah-clause / main clause consisting of an yta-clause which is a direct object and a main clause)

ñan tukučinapahña kay entrebistatahri / *tumpatawan wahpuni yačaríy munaykuman* 'Now in order to finish this interview we would like to know a little bit more'.

(ytawan-clause / main clause consisting of a direct quote and a main clause)

tinkukuytawan kamatah / *qankuna tarinkičahču noqa tariniña nisqa* 'And as soon as he found it he said: "Didst thou find it? I found it already"'

8.3 *Compound complex sentences*. Compound complex sentences are of two types. (1) A clause attribute or a subordinate clause is attributive to a coordinate construction whose constituents are two clauses. (2) A complex sentences stands in construction with another sentence and the two make a coordination.

Examples of type (1):

(Clause attribute / coordination)

čaymanta / *řipusqanku* *i* *mamankuman* *čayamusanku* 'Then they went, and they arrived at their mother's'.

čaymanta / *apamoh kasqa palomasta yutús tukuy imata čaytatahri mik"učih kasqa* 'Then he had brought pidgeons, doves, everything, and he fed him that'.

(Subordinate clause / coordination)

mana haywáy munahtintah / *wañurpačisqanku p'ampaykusqanku* 'When he had refused to hand it to them they killed and buried him'.

patrones kasahtenqa / *antis tumpawan sumah bistisqa karqani i tumpawan qolqeyoh karqani* 'When there were owners of haciendas I used to be somewhat better dressed and with a bit more money'.

kwando q"awarisqankoqa čimpa ladupeqa / *mana supaykunasču kasqa sinuri benados kasqa ari* 'When they had watched in front of them, it hadn't been devils, but deer'.

Examples of type (2):

(Simple narrative clause / complex clause)

partinankuta / *i* / *čayraykutah paykunaqa ačay kabeldosta oq"arikusqa uh imatapis řuwanku* 'They give it out to them and that is why they do anything invoking those chapters'.

(Complex clause / equivalence clause)

aswan sumah ternon kasqa mana estrenasqa nin / *animalesnimpis mančay lindutah kasqa* 'It is said his best suit was not used and his horses were very beautiful'.

(Simple narrative clause / simple narrative clause / complex sentence)

pelonman čurapunku / *amontonapunku* / *montonaykuytawantah řesyen č'aľakuta řuwanku* 'They put down the hay, they pile it up and after piling it they toast'.

(Complex clause / complex clause)

řasurarpačiytawan řeysitutaqa sumah kambyaykusqa řopata / *pusasqatah animál ensiľaykuytawan řeypaman* 'After having made the prince shave, he changed his clothes well and he took him to the king's having saddled his horse'.

8.4. *Sentences in parataxis*. Sentences which have as constituents sentences linked to one another by intonation only are *paratactic sentences*. There are no restrictions on the structure of the sentences that may take part in this construction. Only a few examples will be given: *manarah yačaniču* / *uma řut"uku kasqaľanmanta wiľanku*. 'I don't know yet. They only told me there was a hair cutting ceremony.'; *yana p"uyus řik"urimusqanku* / *paramohtin hoq'osunki* 'Black clouds are appearing. If it rains thou wilt get wet.'; *q"awarisqaqa ari* / *loko libre lökopuni kasqa ari*. 'Well, he looked at him. Well, he was crazy, completely crazy.'

8.5 Minor sentences. Minor sentences are words, phrases, or clauses. They include greetings, vocatives, and particles, with no grammatical relationship to other utterances, fragmentary senteces where the verb has been left out but which can be understood from the context and sentences with non-finite verbals.

Greetings are loans such as bwenus dias 'good morning'. Vocatives are substantives such as patrona 'land lady', mamay 'ma'am', weraqoča 'sir', antonyo 'Anthony'; particles like oye 'say' or substantive phrases like the following: doña leobina 'Doña Leovina', mamay andréa 'Mama Andrea', dyus tata 'God the father'.

Particles which occur as minor sentences are the following: arí 'yes', čay (affirmative word), baya (affirmative word), mana 'no', pahtán 'Careful!', haku 'let's', salúd 'Cheers!', abér 'let's see', uša (exclamation) má 'Look!', bweno 'well'. fwera, ay, ay karahti (exclamations), ken sabe 'who knows', klaru 'of course'. Examples of minor sentences which are particles in paratactic construction with major sentences follow: ay karahti / čay supaykunas entero l̆ohsin kunaqa 'Oh! those devils all came out now.'; arí / dirihente karqani 'Yes, I was a leader.'

Fragmentary sentences with no verb, which are understood from the context are the following: q"epampitah supaykunas puka č'ulusniyoh 'And behind the devils with red caps'. The verb řik"urinku 'they appeared' could have occurred here.

The context makes this clear. The sentence occurs in a story about a man who sees devils and is cured by a witch doctor. *mančay sumah pisi qolqel̄apah čay aq"aqa* 'That chicha for very little money." The verb *bendekun* 'is sold' could have occurred here. *ahnapuni ñawpah wawapeqa* 'Thus with the first child.' The verb *kan* 'it is' could occur in this sentence, but as in equivalence sentences it may be left out. This type of sentence with a substantive inflected for relation such as *wawapeqa* is not as common as the verbless equivalence sentence, and is therefore not considered a major sentence type. One final example is *ašk"aña q'epinay* 'I have a lot to carry already' Liy. 'Much already my load'. The verb tiyan could occur in this sentence. The meaning seems clear without it, but it is not normally left out.

Sentences with semi-finite and non-finite verb forms. Sentences with semi-finite verb forms are imperative sentences. These contain a verb inflected for imperative which can also be inflected for number. Examples are: *hamuy* 'Come thou!'; *yaykumuyčah* 'Enter ye!'; *kay aq"eta uhyariy* 'Drink this little chicha.'

Sentences with non-finite verb forms are exhortations. These contain a na-verbal which is not inflected for person or number. It is translated 'let's'. Examples are: *qonal̄aña* 'Let's get going!' Lit. 'a giving just already'; *tomaykurimuna suma l̄egadaykipah* 'Let's drink for your good arrival.'; *kaysitú ensayarina* 'Let's rehearse this little thing.'

Fragments. There are two types of fragments: (1) those which have the structure of a secondary clause and (2) phrases which show a grammatical relationship to an utterance which occurred earlier. Examples of type (1): napah-clause: *imaynal̄amantapis* *yačarikunaypah* *ari* 'In order for me to learn somehow'; yta-clause: *karu* *hal̄p'asta* *purimuy* 'Travel to far away lands.'. This fragment is not exactly comparable to a clause which is a direct object, however, because -*ta* accusative suffix, does not occur. Examples of type (2): *tоře* *čimpa* *wasipi* 'In the house next to the tower'; *tukuy* *munahkunaman* 'to all those who want to'; *iskay* *kil̄amanta* 'from two months'.

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